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OF

LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE.

Proceedings and Papers;

SESSION V.

1852-53.

LIVERPOOL:

PRINTED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE COUNCIL,

FOR THE USE OF THE MEMBERS.

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NOTE RESPECTING THE ILLUSTRATIONS.

Of the twenty-five Illustrations contained in the present Volume, only five plates have been executed wholly at the expense of the Society. All the others are, in whole or in part, donations from individual members.

The plates numbered I, II, III, IV, and IX, containing nine illustrations, have been executed wholly by the Society. Some of them, though illustrating Volume V, belong more properly to Volume IV, but were not ready in time to be bound up with it. The original drawings of the Churches and Chapels were lent, with many others, by Mr. Herdman.

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All the other blocks,—viz., XIV, XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII, XIX, XX, and XXI,—are the property of Mr. Mayer, by whom they were lent in like manner.

ERRATA.

Page 98, line 33, for Brown, read Browne.

„ 100, „ 9, Do. Do.

„ 184, „ 18, for Tuetonic, read Teutonic.

„ 181, „ 11, for Cheshire men, read English vanguard and right wing.

„ 214, „ Tuetons, read Teutons.

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LIST OF MEMBERS.

SESSION 1852-3.

The First List was dated 23rd November, 1848. All whose names appear or should have been in it, are, therefore, original Members. Those who have been enrolled as Mayors have their year of office attached, and the initial letter of the Borough.

The letters D. E. P. denote respectively that the gentlemen in connection with whose names they occur, have been Donors, Exhibitors, or Authors of Papers during the five Sessions of the Society's existence.

Those marked thus * are Life Members.

	23rd Nov., 1848.	*Ainslie, Montague, Grisedale, Milnthorpe, Westmoreland.
D.	23rd Nov., 1848.	Alexander, William L., 4, Mount Vernon Green, and 2, Harrington Street, Liverpool.
	10th Feb. 1853.	Anderson, Robert Worrall, 23, Falkner Square.
	3rd May, 1849.	Anderson, Thomas Francis, Holly Lodge, Fairfield, and 3, Cable Street, Liverpool.
	23rd Nov., 1848.	Anson, Very Rev. Frederick, D.D., Dean of Chester and Rector of Doddleston, The Deanery, Chester.
	23rd Nov., 1848.	Ansdell, Richard, 7, Victoria Road, Kensington, London.
	14th Dec., 1848.	Astley, John, 25, Brunswick Street, Liverpool, and Rock Ferry, Cheshire.
	4th April, 1850.	Aston, Walter, Chadderton Hall, and 7, Norfolk Street, Manchester.
	8th Nov., 1849.	Atkinson, Fenton Robinson, Oak House, Pendleton, Manchester.
D.E.	23rd Nov., 1848.	AVISON, THOMAS, F.S.A., Fulwood Park, Aigburth, and 16, Cook Street, Liverpool, TREASURER.
	23rd Nov., 1848.	Badnall, Rev. William, M.A., Wavertree.
	5th May, 1853.	Bagot, John Lawler, 27, Great Orford Street, Liverpool.
	23rd Nov., 1848.	Bainbrigge, William H., F.R.C.S., 3, Islington Square, Liverpool.
D.P.	23rd Nov., 1848.	BAINES, THOMAS, Times Office, Castle Street, Liverpool.
	23rd Nov., 1848.	Baylee, Rev. Joseph, D.D., Principal of St. Aidan's College, Birkenhead, Claughton Road, Woodside.
P.	6th Dec., 1849.	Beamont, William, Warrington.
	23rd Nov., 1848.	Bell, Henry, Union Court, Castle Street, Liverpool, and Grosvenor Road, Claughton, Birkenhead.

E.	9th Dec., 1852.	Benn, Edward, Vauxhall Distillery, Liverpool.
	23rd Nov., 1848.	Bennett, Edward, Bedstone House, Bedstone, near Ludlow.
D.	23rd Nov., 1848.	Bennett, William, 69, Shaw Street, Liverpool.
	Mayor Li. 1850-1.	Bent, Sir John, 1, Rake Lane, Edge Hill, and 30, Johnson Street, Liverpool
	23rd Nov., 1848.	Bickersteth, Robert, F.R.C.S., 2, Rodney Street, Liverpool.
	7th March, 1850.	Birch, Sir Thomas Bernard, Bart., The Hazels, Prescot.
E.	23rd Nov., 1848.	Birchall, Thomas, Ribbleton Hall, Preston.
	23rd Nov., 1848.	Bird, William, 9, South Castle Street, and The Dell, Rock Park, Rock Ferry.
	4th March, 1852.	Birley, Rev. John Shepherd, Halliwell Hall, Bolton.
P.	8th Jan., 1852.	Birley, T. Langton, Carr Hall, Kirkham.
	23rd Nov., 1848.	Blackburne, John Ireland, The Hall, Hale.
	23rd Nov., 1848.	Blundell, Thomas Weld, Ince Blundell, Great Crosby.
	5th May, 1853.	Booth, Benjamin Witham, Swinton, Manchester.
	23rd Nov., 1848.	Boult, Francis, 6, Rumford Place, Liverpool, and Clifton Park, Birkenhead.
D.E.	23rd Nov., 1848.	Boult, Joseph, Harrington Chambers, and Grove Park, Lodge Lane, Liverpool.
	8th Dec., 1851.	Bourne, Cornelius, Stalmine Hall, Preston.
	6th April, 1850.	*Brackley, the Viscount, M.P., Worsley Hall, Manchester.
E.	13th Nov., 1851.	Brackstone, R. H., 47, Wood Street, London.
D.	23rd Nov., 1848.	Brakell, Thomas, 3, Cook Street, and 40, Kensington, Liverpool.
D.	23rd Nov., 1848.	Bridger, Charles, F.S.A., 3, Keppell Street, Russel Square, London.
	3rd May, 1849.	Brooke, Henry, The Grange, Northwich.
D.E.P.	23rd Nov., 1848.	Brooke, Richard, F.S.A., 16, Canning Street, and 14, Cook Street, Liverpool.
	6th March, 1851.	*Brooke, Richard, jun., Norton Priory, Runcorn.
	12th April, 1849.	Brooks, John, 55, Great George Street, Liverpool.
D.	23rd Nov., 1848.	Brooks, Venerable Jonathan, M.A., Archdeacon of Liverpool, Everton Road, Liverpool, Vice-President.
	6th Jan. 1853.	Brown, Rev. Hugh Stowell, 118, Chatham Street, Liverpool.
D.	23rd Nov., 1848.	*Brown, William, M.P., 7, Chapel Street, Liverpool, and Fenton's Hotel, London.
	9th Dec., 1852.	Bury, Edward, F.R.S., Sheffield.
	23rd Nov., 1848.	Byrne, Andrew Euing, 4, Rumford Place, and 8, Kenyon Terrace, Claughton, Birkenhead.
	23rd Nov., 1848.	Caine, Nathaniel, 12, Dutton Street, Liverpool.
	23rd Nov., 1848.	Campbell, Rev. Augustus, M.A., The Vicarage, Childwall, and 131, Duke Street, Liverpool.
	8th Jan. 1852.	Campbell, Rev. Colin, M.A., St. Thomas's, Lancaster.
	23rd Nov., 1848.	Cardwell, Edward, P.B., M.P., 3, Whitehall Gardens, London.
	4th April, 1850.	*Carlisle, the Earl of, Naworth Hall, Northumberland, and Grosvenor Place, London.

D. 23rd Nov., 1848. Carson, Thomas, Talbot Chambers, Fenwick Street, and 3, Northumberland Terrace, Everton, Liverpool.
6th Dec., 1849. Carson, William, York Buildings, Sweeting Street, and Lodge Lane, Liverpool.
14th Dec., 1848. Carter, George Barker, Bebington, Cheshire, and 6, Lord Street, Liverpool.
1851-52. CHESTER, THE MAYOR OF, VICE-PRESIDENT, *ex officio*.
2nd June, 1853. *Chester, the Lord Bishop of, the Palace, Chester.
E. 23rd Nov., 1848. Clare, John Leigh, Richmond Terrace, Breck Road, and 11, Exchange Buildings, Liverpool.
3rd Jan. 1850. Claypole, Henry Krebs, 41, Lord Street, and 67, Kensington, Liverpool.
D.E.P. 23rd Nov., 1848. Clayton, Rev. George, M.A., Warmingham Rectory, Middlewich.
23rd Nov., 1848. Cliffe, Thomas, 6, Audley Street, Everton, Liverpool.
2nd June, 1853. Collingwood, William, 55, Chatham Street, Liverpool.
D.E. 1st Feb., 1849. Colton, John Caspar, 7, Oldhall Street, and 114, Duke Street, Liverpool.
23rd Nov., 1848. Conway, John, 3, Union Court, Castle Street, Liverpool.
23rd Nov., 1848. Coulthart, John Ross, Croft House, Ashton-under-Lyne.
23rd Nov. 1848. Crook, Thomas, 61, Shaw Street, Liverpool.
6th Dec., 1849. Crosfield, Henry, 4, Temple Place, and Edgemount, Edge Lane, Liverpool.
23rd Nov., 1848. Crosse, Thomas Bright, Shawe Hill, Chorley.
2nd May, 1850. Crossley, James, F.S.A., President of the Chetham Society, Booth Street, Manchester.
23rd Nov., 1848. Cunningham, John, F.G.S., Hon. M. Roy. Corn. G.S., 29, Seel Street, and Beach Bank, Liscard, Cheshire.
D.E.P. 23rd Nov., 1848. CUST, MAJOR-GEN., the HON. SIR EDWARD, K.C.H., D.C.L., F.R.S., Leasowe Castle, Cheshire, and Hill Street, London, VICE-PRESIDENT.

D. 8th Dec., 1851. Dale, Rev. P. S., M.A., Hill House, Tranmere.
E. 8th Dec., 1851. Dale, Robert Norris, Hargreaves' Buildings, Exchange, Liverpool.
23rd Nov., 1848. Danby, Rev. Francis Burton, M.A., County Asylum, Lancaster.
6th Feb., 1851. Darlington, Richard, Wigan.
P. 23rd Nov., 1848. Dawes, Matthew, F.S.A., F.G.S., Westbrooke, Bolton.
23rd Nov., 1848. *Dawson, Henry, 20, Redcross Street, and 14, St. James's Road, Liverpool.
10th Feb., 1853. Dawson, Pudsey, Hornby Castle, Lancashire.
2nd May, 1850. Dawson, Thomas, M.R.C.S., 67, Mount Pleasant, Liverpool.
23rd Nov., 1848. Dearden, James, F.S.A., The Orchard, Rochdale.
23rd Nov., 1848. Deighton, Joseph, 46, Church Street, Liverpool.
6th April, 1850. De Tabley, The Lord, Tabley Hall, Cheshire.
7th May, 1851. Dickinson, Joseph, M.A., M.D., F.L.S., M.R.I.A., President of the Literary and Philosophical Society, Liverpool, 5, Nelson Street, Liverpool.

23rd Nov., 1848. Dignan, John, Chronicle Office, Church Street, Liverpool.
D. 13th Nov., 1851. Donaldson, J. Binning, 12, Gloucester Place, Low Hill, Liverpool.
7th March, 1850. Dove, Percy M., Royal Insurance Office, 1, North John Street, Liverpool, and 49, Hamilton Square, Birkenhead.
D. 23rd Nov., 1848. Duarte, Ricardo Thomaz, 2, Royal Bank Buildings, Liverpool.
D. 23rd Nov., 1848. Dunlevie, Charles Thomas, 52, Castle Street, Liverpool.

D. 9th Dec., 1852. Eckersley, Thomas, Wigan.
23rd Nov., 1848. Eden, John, 57, Church Street, and Aigburth Vale, Liverpool.
8th Dec., 1851. Edgar, James, 34, Canning Street, Liverpool.
D.E.P. 23rd Nov., 1848. *Egerton, Sir Philip de Malpas Grey, Bart., M.P., F.R.S., F.G.S., Oulton Park, Tarporley, and 43, Wilton Crescent, London.
D. 23rd Nov., 1848. *Ellesmere, The Earl of, F.R.S., F.S.A., F.L.S., F.G.S., Worsley Hall, Manchester, and 18, Belgrave Square, London, President.
14th April, 1853. Ellis, Arthur, Melville Place, Oxford Street, Liverpool.
3rd March, 1853. Ellis, William, 29, Edge Lane, Liverpool.
23rd Nov., 1848. Evans, Edward, 52A., Hanover Street, Liverpool.
8th Nov., 1849. Evans, Thomas Bickerton, 52A., Hanover Street, Liverpool.
23rd Nov., 1848. Ewart, Joseph Christopher, New Brighton.
6th May, 1852. *Ewart. William, M.P., 6, Cambridge Square, Hyde Park, London.
3rd Jan., 1850. Eyton, Caradoc, James's Street, Liverpool.
7th Feb., 1850. Eyton, Peter Ellis, Flint.

23rd Nov., 1848. Falcon, William B., Malta, and 11, Shaw Street, Liverpool.
23rd Nov., 1848. Feilden, John, Mollington Hall, Chester.
8th Jan., 1852. Ffrance, Thomas Robert Wilson,† Rowcliffe Hall, Garstang.
23rd Nov., 1848. Finlay, William, Collegiate Institution, Liverpool.
23rd Nov., 1848. Fisher, William M., Ph.D., F.R.A.S., 39, Great George Street, Liverpool.
6th Dec., 1849. Fleming, Thomas, 22, Sandon Street, and 58, Castle Street, Liverpool.
2nd June, 1853. Foard, James T., 24, Huskisson Street, and 34, Church Street, Liverpool.
23rd Nov., 1848. Forshaw, Rev. Charles, M.A., Altcar, Ormskirk.
5th Dec., 1850. Forster, Wilson, Willow Bank, Tue Brook, West Derby, and 23, Temple Street, Liverpool.
23rd Nov., 1848. Fox, Rev. W. Darwin, M.A., Delamere Forest Rectory.
6th Jan., 1853. French, Gilbert James, Bolton-le-Moors.

14th Dec., 1848. Gardner, Richard Cardwell, 42, Dale Street, and Newsham House, Liverpool.

† Dead. Subscription for Session V. paid.

3rd May, 1849. Garnett, William James, Bleasdale Tower, Garstang.
23rd Nov., 1848. Gaskell, John, Exchange Court, Exchange Street East, Liverpool.
D. 7th Feb., 1850. GATH, SAMUEL, 137, Finch Street, and Hargreaves' Buildings, Liverpool.
E.P. 23rd Nov., 1848. Gawthrop, Hugh, Mersey Cottage, Mersey Street, Birkenhead
7th March, 1850. Gill, Robert, 1, Chapel Street, Liverpool, and Much Woolton.
23rd Nov., 1848. Godfrey, J. J., M.R.C.S., Heathfield Street, Renshaw Street, Liverpool.
23rd Nov., 1848. Gore, William Ormsby, M.P., Porkington, Oswestry, and 66, Portland Place, London.
9th Dec., 1852. Graves, Samuel Robert, 18, Redross Street.
7th Feb., 1850. Gray, John, 16, St. Clement's Terrace, Windsor, and 25, Strand Street, Liverpool.
D.E. 14th Dec., 1848. Gray, Thomas, Royal Insurance Office, 1, North John Street, Liverpool.
6th Feb., 1851. Gray, William, Bolton.
7th Feb., 1850. Green, Robert Molyneux, 14, Rupert Lane, Everton, Liverpool
D.E. 23rd Nov., 1848. Greenall, Rev. Richard, M.A., Incumbent of Stretton, and R.D., Stretton, Warrington.
D.E. 8th Nov., 1849. Guyton, Joseph, 5, Church Street, Edge Hill, Liverpool.

2nd May, 1850. Hall, William, Seaforth.
D. 8th Dec., 1851. Hammond, William John, Swift Court, 50, Stafford Street, and 11, Castle Street, Liverpool.
23rd Nov., 1848. Hampton, Rev. H., M.A., Cemetery View, 18, Upper Parliament Street, Liverpool.
23rd Nov., 1848. Harden, J. W., New Ferry, Cheshire.
D.E.P. 8th Nov., 1849. Harland, John, Guardian Office, Manchester.
5th May, 1853. Harrison, William, Ballachrink, St. John's, Isle of Man.
9th Dec., 1852. Harrison, Henry Walter, 5, Rodney Street, and 27, Castle Street, Liverpool
10th Feb., 1853. Hartley, Jesse, Derby Road, Bootle.
10th Feb., 1853. Hartley, John Bernard, Aigburth.
6th Dec., 1849. Haslam, Samuel Holker, F.L.S., Greenside Cottage, Milnthorpe.
23rd Nov., 1848. Hawkins, Edward, F.R.S., F.S.A., F.L.S., British Museum, London.
23rd Nov., 1848. Hawthorne, Hans Stewart, 61, St. Anne Street, Liverpool.
3rd May, 1849. Hay, John, 2, Cable Street, and Parkfield Cottage, Birkenhead, Cheshire.
23rd Nov., 1848. Heath, Edward, Orange Court, Castle Street, and St. Domingo Grove, Everton, Liverpool.
9th Dec. 1852. Henderson, Rev. John, Colne, Lancashire.
E. 23rd Nov., 1848. Herdman, William Gawin, Lansdowne Place, Everton, Liverpool.
23rd Nov., 1848. *Heywood, Sir Benjamin, Bart., Claremont, Manchester.

23rd Nov., 1848. Heywood, James, M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A., F.G.S., Acresfield, Manchester, and Reform Club, London.
D.P. 23rd Nov, 1848. *Heywood, Thomas, F.S.A., Hope End, Ledbury, Herefordshire.
E.P. 4th Jan., 1849. Hibbert, Thomas Dorning, Middle Temple, London.
D.P. 23rd Nov., 1848. HIGGIN, EDWARD, 6, Sweeting Street, and Elmleigh, Breckside Park, Liverpool.
D. 6th Dec., 1849. Higgin, Thomas, 3, Tower Buildings West, Liverpool.
E. 23rd Nov., 1848. Hill, Rev. John Wilbraham, M.A., Waverton, Chester.
8th Dec., 1851. Hinde, John Hodgson, 9, Saville Row, Newcastle-on-Tyne, and Acton House, Felton, Northumberland.
D. Mayor Li, 1849-50. Holmes, John, 11, Everton Brow, Liverpool.
Mayor La, 1849-50. Howitt, Thomas, M.R.C.S., Lancaster.
23rd Nov., 1848. Horsfall, Thomas Berry, M.P., Mill Bank, West Derby.
14th April, 1853. Houghton, Richard, Crosby.
D.P. 8th Nov., 1849. HOWSON, REV. JOHN SAUL, M.A., Principal, Collegiate Institution, Liverpool.
8th Feb., 1852. Hulton, William Adams, Hurst Grange, Preston.
Mayor C, 1851-52. Humberston, Philip Stapleton, Chester.
D.E.P 23rd Nov., 1848. HUME, REV. ABRAHAM, D C.L., LL.D., F.S.A., Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot., Hon. Mem. Dublin University Philosophical Society, 9, Clarence Street, Everton, HON. SECRETARY.
12th April, 1849. Hunt, Charles, 12, Huskisson Street, Liverpool.
9th Dec., 1852. Hutchison Robert, 61, Grove Street, Liverpool

D.E. 1st April, 1852. Jacob, John Greer, 56, Church Street, Liverpool.
23rd Nov., 1848. Jacson, Charles R., Barton Lodge, Preston.
23rd Nov., 1848. James, Rev. David, M.A., F.S.A., Ph.D., Llandovery.
23rd Nov., 1848. *James, Paul Moon, Summer Ville, Manchester.
D. 23rd Nov., 1848. Johnson, John H., 7, Church Street, Liverpool.
23rd Nov., 1848. Jones, Alfred, 17, Goree Piazzas, Liverpool.
6th April, 1850. Jones, Captain, care of Mr. Jordan, Manchester.
3rd May, 1849. Jones, Morris Charles, 75, Shaw Street, Liverpool.
6th Dec., 1849. Jones, Roger Lyon, 1, Great George's Square, Liverpool.
23rd Nov., 1848. Keet, George, J., 90, Renshaw Street, Liverpool.
23rd Nov., 1848. Kendall Thomas, 9, Gambier Terrace, Liverpool.
D.E.P. 3rd May, 1849. KENDRICK, JAMES, M.D., Warrington.
6th June, 1850. Kerferd, John A., 23, Everton Village, Liverpool.
D. 1st Feb., 1849. Kilpin, Thomas Johnson, 1, Arrad Street, Hope Street, Liverpool.

D.P. 23rd Nov., 1848. LAMB, DAVID, Plumpton Terrace, 29, Everton Road, Liverpool.
14th March, 1852. Lambert, David Howe, 1, York Buildings, Dale Street, and Bedford Street, Liverpool.
1852-53. LANCASTER, THE MAYOR OF, VICE-PRESIDENT, *ex officio*.
23rd Nov., 1848. Langton, William, Manchester.
23rd Nov, 1848. Laycock, William, 1, Canning Street, Birkenhead.

6th Dec., 1849. Ledger, Reuben, Knotty Ash, Liverpool.
D. 1st April, 1852. Lee, Rev. Thomas Falkner, M.A., Grammar School, Lancaster.
23rd Nov., 1848. Legh, G. Cornwall, M.P., High Legh, Warrington.
D.E. 4th April, 1850. Lilford, The Lord, Oundle, Northamptonshire, and Grosvenor Place, London.
23rd Nov., 1848. Lingard, Alexander Rowsand, M.R.C.S., Eastham.
23rd Nov., 1848. Lindsay, Hon. Colin, Haigh Lands, Wigan.
23rd Nov., 1848 Lister, James, Union Bank, Brunswick Street, and 2, Green Bank, Breckfield Road North, Liverpool.
Mayor Li, 1851-52. Littledale, Thomas, Highfield House, and 13, Exchange Buildings, Liverpool.
1852-53. LIVERPOOL, THE MAYOR OF, VICE-PRESIDENT, *ex officio*.
D. 14th Dec., 1848. LLOYD, JOHN BUCK, Exchange Alley, Exchange Street West, and Aigburth.
6th Jan., 1853. Longton, John, Breck Road, and Peter's Place, Rumford Street, Liverpool.
D. 23rd Nov., 1848. *LORD, LIEUT. WILLIAM, R.N., Surveyor of the Port, 16, Sandon Street, Liverpool.
23rd Nov., 1848. Lowndes, Matthew Dobson, 7, Brunswick Street, Liverpool
5th Dec., 1850. Lucas, Henry Walker, 1, Sweeting Street, Liverpool.
14th April, 1853. Lyon, Henry, Appleton Hall, Warrington.
D.E. 6th Dec., 1849. Lyon, Thomas, Appleton Hall, Warrington.

3rd March, 1853. MacIntyre, Peter, M.D., 120, Duke Street, Liverpool.
5th May, 1853. Macrae, John Wrigley, Edge Lane, and 22, Hackins Hey, Liverpool.
23rd Nov., 1848. Macrorie, David, M.D., M.R.C.S., 126, Duke Street, Liverpool.
1852-53. MANCHESTER, THE MAYOR OF, VICE-PRESIDENT, *ex-officio*.
3rd Jan., 1849. *Manchester, The Lord Bishop of, Sedgley Hall, Manchester
23rd Nov., 1848. Markland, James Heywood, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., Bath
23rd Nov., 1848. Marsden, George, 52, Pembroke Place, Liverpool
5th June, 1851. Marsh, John Finchett, Fairfield, Warrington
D.E. 8th Nov., 1849. Massie, Rev. William H., St. Mary's-on-the-Hill, Chester
23rd Nov., 1848. Mather, Daniel, 58, Mount Pleasant, Liverpool
D.E. 23rd Nov., 1848. MATHER, JOHN, 58, Mount Pleasant, Liverpool, AUDITOR
23rd Nov., 1848. Mather, Robert, 58, Mount Pleasant, Liverpool
4th April, 1850. Mawdesley, Joseph, 10, West Derby street, and 49, South John Street, Liverpool
23rd Nov., 1848. Mawdsley, James, 11, Canning Street, and 4, Castle Street, Liverpool
23rd Nov., 1848. Mawdsley, John, Mersey Court, Covent Garden, and Pool Cottage, Seacombe, Cheshire
15th March, 1849. Mayer, Jos., Brown Hills, Burslem, Staffordshire

D.E.P. 23rd Nov., 1848. MAYER, JOSEPH, F.S.A., Hon. Mem. SS. Antiq., Normandy, l'Ouest, the Morini; de la Société d'Emulation, Abbeville, &c., 68, Lord Street, Liverpool, HON. CURATOR.
7th Feb., 1850. Mayer, Samuel, Newcastle-under-Lyne
23rd Nov., 1848. Mayer, Thomas, Dale Hall, Longport, Staffordshire
23rd Nov., 1848. M'Conkey, Rev. Andrew, M.A., Woburn Hill, Green Lane, West Derby
D.E. 23rd Nov., 1848. M'QUIE, PETER ROBINSON, Low Hill, and 20, Water Street, Liverpool, AUDITOR
D. 6th Dec., 1849. M'Viccar, Duncan, Abercromby Terrace, and 7, Exchange Buildings, Liverpool
D.E.P. 6th Dec., 1849. MIDDLETON, JAMES, F.S.A., Grecian Terrace, Everton, and 12, Rumford Place, Liverpool
Mayor Li, 1848-49. Moore, John Bramley, Carioca Lodge, Aigburth, and Orange Court, Castle Street, Liverpool
E. 23rd Nov., 1848. MOORE, THOMAS, 18, Chapel Street, and 10, Beaufort Buildings, Seacombe, Cheshire
E.P. 8th Nov., 1849. MOORE, REV. THOMAS, M.A., Norwood Grove, Whitefield Road, Liverpool, HON. SECRETARY
D.E.P. 23rd Nov., 1848. Mortimer, William Williams, City Walls, Chester
E.P. 23rd Nov., 1848. Moss, Rev. John, James, B.A, Otterspool, Aigburth
23rd Nov., 1848. Mostyn, Rev. G. Thornton, M.A., St. Helens
7th March, 1850. Mott, Albert J., 20, South Castle Street, and Edge Hill, Liverpool
P. 23rd Nov., 1848. Muspratt, Sheridan, Ph.D., F.R.S.E., M.R.I.A., &c., College of Chemistry, Duke Street, Liverpool

D.E. 23rd Nov., 1848. Neil, Hugh, L.R.C.S.E., F.R.A.S., 115, Mount Pleasant, Liverpool
23rd Nov., 1848. Nicholson, James, F.S.A., Thelwall Hall, Warrington
D. 6th Dec., 1849. North, Alfred, 33, Huskisson Street, Liverpool.

2nd Jan., 1851. Oates, Capt. W. C., Cavendish Place, Bath
D.P. 6th Dec., 1849. Ormerod, George, D.C.L, F.R.S., F.S.A., F.G.S., Sedbury Park, Chepstow
6th June, 1850. Ormerod, George Wareing, M.A., F.G.S., Broughton View, Manchester
6th Feb., 1851. Osborne, John James, Macclesfield
3rd Jan., 1850. Overend, James, 45, Hope Street, Liverpool

23rd Nov. 1848. Paris, Thomas Jeremiah, 68, Lord Street, Liverpool
3rd Jan., 1850. Parker, Charles Stewart, Bank Chambers, Cook Street, Liverpool
23rd Nov., 1848. Parr, Alfred, M.D., St. George's Mount, New Brighton, Cheshire
7th March, 1850. *Patten, John Wilson, M.P., Bank Hall, Warrington
23rd Nov., 1848. Pedder, Edward, Clifton Hall, Preston
E. 23rd Nov., 1848. Pedder, Richard, Stanley Terrace, Preston
23rd Nov., 1848. Penny, Rev. Edward, M.A., Rectory, Great Mongeham, Kent
6th Dec., 1849. Perkes, Samuel, 1, Wallbrook, City, London
8th Dec., 1851. Perrin, Joseph, 15, Prince's Street, Manchester
23rd Nov., 1848. Piccope, Rev. J., M.A., Farndon, Chester

D.	6th Jan., 1849.	PICTON, JAMES ALLANSON, F.S.A., 19, Clayton Square, Sandy Knowe, Wavertree
	6th Dec., 1849.	Pierce, George Massie, 4, Exchange Alley, and Linacre Marsh, Liverpool
	3rd May, 1849.	Pierpoint, Benjamin, Warrington
	23rd Nov., 1848.	Pilkington, James, M.P., Park Place, Blackburn
	10th Feb., 1853.	Platt, Robert, Dean Water, Prestbury
	23rd Nov., 1848.	Poggi, Rev. Dominica Joseph, D.D., Seacombe House School, Cheshire.
D.	6th Dec., 1849.	POOLE, JOHN, 23, Oxford Street, Liverpool
	Mayor M., 1851-2.	Potter, Sir John, Manchester
	6th Dec., 1849.	Preston, William, 13, Vernon Street, and Rock House, West Derby Road, Liverpool
	23rd Nov., 1848.	Raikes, Worshipful and Rev. H., M.A., Hon. Canon and Chancellor of Chester, Dee Side, Chester
D.E.	23rd Nov., 1848.	Raines, Rev. Canon, M.A., F.S.A., Milnrow Parsonage, Rochdale
D.	23rd Nov., 1848.	Reay, James, Guardian Office, Commerce Court, Lord Street, Liverpool
D.	23rd Nov., 1848.	Reay, Thomas, 87, Church Street, Liverpool
	23rd Nov., 1848.	Raffles, Rev. Thomas, D.D., LL.D., Mason Street, Edge Hill, Liverpool
D.	15th March, 1849.	Rawlinson, Robert, Gwydyr House, London
	7th March, 1850.	Richardson, Samuel, 4, Berkeley Street, Liverpool
D.E.P.	23rd Nov., 1848.	Rimmer, Alfred, 59, Hope Street, Liverpool
	23rd Nov., 1848.	Roberts, Rev. E., M.A., Seacombe, Cheshire
D.P.	23rd Nov., 1848.	Roberts, William John, Lydiate, and 7, Berry Street, Liverpool
D.E.	14th Dec. 1848.	Robin, John, Chapel Walks, South Castle Street, and Grove Hill, West Kirby, Cheshire
	8th Mch, 1853.	Robinson, John, Westfield, Huddersfield
D.E.P.	3rd May, 1849.	ROBSON, JOHN, Warrington
D.E.	23rd Nov., 1848.	ROBINSON, CHARLES BACKHOUSE, 102, Chatham Street, Liverpool
	3rd Jan. 1850.	Ronald, Robert Wilson, 1, Everton Brow, Liverpool
	14th April, 1853.	Ryder, Thomas Bromfield, Cuthbert's Buildings, Clayton Square, Liverpool
	23rd Nov., 1848.	Sandford, Rev. G. B.,† Church Minshull, Middlewich
	23rd Nov., 1848.	Scholefield, Henry D., M.D., M.R.C.S., 14, Hamilton Square, Birkenhead
E.	23rd Nov., 1848.	SEFTON, THE EARL OF, Croxteth Hall, West Derby, VICE-PRESIDENT
	8th Jan. 1852.	Sharp, John, Dalton Square, Lancaster
	2nd June, 1853.	Sharp, William, Westlands, Wimbledon, London
	23rd Nov., 1848.	Sharpe, Edmund, M.A., Lancaster
	7th Feb., 1850.	Sherlock, Cornelius, 22, King Street, and Stanley, Liverpool
	Mayor La, 1851-2.	Sherson, John Herdman, Lancaster
	3rd May, 1849.	Shute, Robert, 28, Bedford Street North, Liverpool
D.	8th Jan. 1852.	Simpson, Rev. Robert, M.A., Skerton, Lancaster
D.	23rd Nov., 1848.	*Simpson, Rev. Samuel, Douglas, Isle of Man

† Dead. Subscription for Session V. paid.

	23rd Nov., 1848.	Skaife, Thomas, Vanbrugh House, Blackheath, London
	9th Dec., 1852.	Smith, George F., 6, Park Lane, Liverpool
D.	2nd May, 1850.	*Smith, James, Brunswick Dock, and Seaforth
	6th Jan. 1853.	Smith, William Penn, 26, Hanover Street, Liverpool
	23rd Nov., 1848.	Snowball, J. G., 16, Castle Street, and 11, Upper Canning Street, Liverpool
	1st Feb., 1849.	Stephens, Alfred, 4, Upper Parliament Street, Liverpool
	23rd Nov., 1848.	Stewart, Rev. John, M.A., Hayman's Green, West Derby
	23rd Nov., 1848.	Stewart, Rev. William, M.A., The Parsonage, Hale
	6th June, 1850.	Stock, John, 7, Exchange Buildings, and Westdale, Wavertree, Liverpool
D.E.P.	23rd Nov., 1848.	Stonehouse, James, 9, Christian Street North, Everton, Liverpool
D.E.	8th Nov., 1849.	Stuart, William, 1, Rumford Place, and Springfield House, Knotty Ash, Liverpool
	5th June, 1851.	Stubs, Joseph, Warrington
	23rd Nov., 1848.	Sutton, Hugh Gaskell, Exchange Court, Exchange Street East, and Wood End, Aigburth
	23rd Nov., 1848.	Sweetlove, John, 41, Edward Square, Kensington, London
	4th March, 1852.	Sykes, James, Breck House, Poulton-le-Fylde, and 49, Seymour Street, Liverpool
	5th Feb., 1852.	Thacker, Robert Pearson, Standard Office, and Percy Street, Liverpool.
D.E.	23rd Nov., 1848.	Thicknesse, Ralph A., M.P., Beech Hill, Wigan.
D.P.	23rd Nov., 1848.	THOM, REV. DAVID, D.D., Ph.D., 3, St. Mary's Place, Edge Hill, Liverpool, VICE-PRESIDENT.
E.P.	8th Dec., 1851.	Thornber, Rev. William, B.A., Blackpool.
	23rd Nov., 1848.	Thornely, James, 16, Hope Street, Liverpool.
	8th Dec., 1851.	Tinne, John A., 13, Bank Chambers, Cook Street, and Briarley, Aigburth.
E.	14th Dec., 1848.	Tobin, Thomas, F.S.A., Ballincollig, Cork.
	8th Jan., 1852.	Torr, John, 13, Exchange Buildings, and Eastham.
	5th Dec., 1850.	Tucker, Robert, 11, North View, Edge Hill, Liverpool.
D.	23rd Nov., 1848.	Tudor, Richard A., M.R.C.S., Church View, Bootle.
	14th April, 1853.	Turner, Charles, Dingle Head, Liverpool.
D.	6th Dec., 1849.	Turner, Edward, High Street, Newcastle, Staffordshire.
D.	23rd Nov., 1848.	*Varty, Thomas, 39, Prospect Vale, Fairfield, and Lime Street, Liverpool.
	14th April, 1853.	Vose, James, M.D., 5, Gambier Terrace, Hope Street, Liverpool.
	Mayor C, 1848-49.	*Walker, Sir Edward, Chester.
	6th March, 1851.	Warburton, Rowland Eyles Egerton, Arley Hall, Cheshire.
	1st April, 1852.	Warry, Thomas Symes, Hamilton Square, Birkenhead.
	8th Jan., 1852.	Watson, William Pilkington, Rock Park, Rock Ferry.

6th June, 1850. Waterhouse, Sebastian, 13, Percy Street, Liverpool.
D. 2nd May, 1850 *Way, Albert, M.A., F.S.A., Wonham Manor, Reigate, Surrey.
E. 1st Feb., 1849. Webster, George, Exchange Alley North, and 7, Northumberland Terrace, Everton, Liverpool.
D.E. 1st Feb., 1849. *Whitehead, James Wright, Orange Court, Castle Street, and 15, Duke Street, Edge Hill, Liverpool.
6th June, 1850. Whiteley, Rev. William, Catsclough, Winsford, Cheshire
2nd June, 1853. Whitley, George, Bromborough.
Mayor C, 1850-51. Williams, John, Chester.
8th Jan., 1852. Willoughby, Edward G., Marine Cottage, Tranmere.
23rd Nov., 1848. Wilson, Henry, 12, Everton Terrace, and Collegiate Institution, Liverpool.
23rd Nov., 1848. Winstanley, Samuel T., 68, Mount Pleasant, Liverpool.
12th April, 1849. Wolley, George, 20, Mason Street, Edge Hill, Liverpool.
23rd Nov., 1848. Wood, Venerable Isaac, M.A., Archdeacon of Chester, The Vicarage, Middlewich.
23rd Nov., 1848. Wood, Isaac Moreton, Middlewich, Cheshire.
23rd Nov., 1848. Wood, John Nelson, Chapel Walks, South Castle Street, and Oaklands, Rock Ferry, Cheshire.
10th Feb., 1853. Wood, Thomas, Blue Coat Hospital, Liverpool.
D.E. 7th May, 1851. *Woodhouse, John George, 47, Henry Street, Liverpool
12th April, 1849. Wright, William, 25, Exchange Alley North, and 25, Deane Street, Fairfield, Liverpool.
5th May, 1853. Wylie, Alexander Henry, 6, Catherine Street, Liverpool.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

D. 6th Feb., 1851. Akerman, John Yonge, Sec. S.A.; F.S.A. Newcastle; F.R.S. of Northern Antiquaries; Corr. Mem. SS. Antiq. Scot. France, Russia, Switzerland, Rome; Somerset House, London.

D.P. 13th Nov., 1851. Bell, William, Ph.D., 17, Gower Place, Euston Square, London.
P. 6th Feb., 1851. Betham, Sir William, M.R.I.A., Ulster King at Arms, the Castle, Dublin.
6th Feb., 1851. Blaauw, Wm. Henry, M.A., F.S.A., M.R.G.S., 3, Queen Anne Street, London, and Beechland, Uckfield, Sussex.
6th Feb., 1851. Boileau, Sir John P., Bart., F.R.S., F.S.A., Ketteringham Park, Wyndham, Norfolk, and 20, Upper Brooke Street, London.

6th Feb., 1851. Charlton, Edward, M.D., F.S.A., Newcastle, 7, Eldon Square, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

D. 6th Jan., 1852.	De Perthes, J. Boucher de Crevecoeur, Chevalier des ordres de Malte et de Legion d'honneur, membre des diverses Sociétés Savantes, Abbeville.
6th Feb., 1851.	Duncan, Philip B., M.A., Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
D. 6th Dec. 1849.	Londesborough, The Lord, K.C.H., F.R.S., F.S.A., Grimeston, Tadcaster, and 8, Carleton-house Terrace, London.
9th Dec., 1852.	MacAdam, Robert, College Square, Belfast.
D.E.P. 7th May, 1851.	PIDGEON, Henry Clarke, 2, Russell Place, Fitzroy Square, London, LONDON SECRETARY.
D.E. 6th Feb., 1851.	Smith, Charles Roach, F.S.A., Hon. Mem. SS. Antiq. France, Copenhagen, Normandy, Scotland, Spain, Newcastle, the Morini, Abbeville, and Picardy, 5, Liverpool Street, City, London.
6th Feb., 1851.	Turnbull, Wm., B.D.D., F.S.A. Scot., 3, Stone Buildings, Lincoln's Inn, London.
D. 6th Feb., 1851.	Turner, Dawson, F.R.S., F.S.A., F.L.S., Hon. M.R.I.A., M.R.S.L., Barnes, Surrey, and Athenæum Club, London.
6th Feb., 1851.	Williams, Rev. John, M.A., Llanymowddwy, Mallwyd.
6th Feb., 1851.	Willis, Rev. Robert, M.A., F.R.S., Jacksonian Professor, Caius' College, Cambridge.

COUNCIL AND OFFICERS FOR 1852-3.

President.

The Right Hon. The Earl of Ellesmere, D.C.L., F.S.A., F.L.S., F.G.S., Worsley Hall, Lancashire.

Vice-Presidents.

Ex Officiis.

The Mayor of Chester.
The Mayor of Lancaster.
The Mayor of Liverpool.
The Mayor of Manchester.

Elected.

Right Hon. The Earl of Sefton, Croxteth Hall, Lancashire.
Major-General The Hon. Sir Edward Cust, K.C.H., D.C.L., F.R.S., Leasowe Castle, Cheshire
The Venerable Jonathan Brooks, M.A., Archdeacon of Liverpool, Everton, Liverpool.
Rev. David Thom, D.D., Ph.D., Edge Hill, Liverpool.

Other Members of the Council, elected.

Thomas Baines, Esq., 12, Castle Street.
Joseph Boult, Esq., Harrington Chambers, North John Street.
Samuel Gath, Esq., 137, Finch Street.
Edward Higgin, Esq., Elmleigh, Breckside Park.
Rev J. S. Howson, M.A., Collegiate Institution.
James Kendrick, M.D., Warrington.
David Lamb, Esq., Plumpton Terrace, Everton.
Lieut. Wm. Lord, R.N., Revenue Buildings.
John Buck Lloyd, Esq., Exchange Alley, Exchange Street West.
James Middleton, Esq., F.S.A., Grecian Terrace, Everton.
Thomas Moore, Esq., 18, Chapel Street.
James A. Picton, F.S.A., Clayton Square.
John Poole, Esq., 23, Oxford Street.
C. B. Robinson, Esq., 102, Chatham Street.
John Robson, Esq., Warrington.
James W. Whitehead, Esq., Orange Court, Castle Street.

Auditors.

Peter R. M'Quie, Esq., 20, Water Street. | John Mather, Esq., 58, Mount Pleasant.

Treasurer.

Thomas Avison, F.S.A., 15, Cook Street, Liverpool.

Honorary Curator of the Museum.

Joseph Mayer, F.S.A., 68, Lord Street, Liverpool.

Honorary Secretaries.

Corresponding Secretary.

Rev. A. Hume, D.C.L., LL.D., F.S.A., 9, Clarence Street, Everton, Liverpool.

Recording Secretary.

Rev. Thomas Moore, M.A., Norwood Grove, Whitefield Road, Everton.

Secretary in London.

H. C. Pidgeon, Esq., 2, Russell Place, Fitzroy Square.

FIRST MEETING.

Collegiate Institution, 4th November, 1852.

DAVID THOM, D.D., Vice-President, in the Chair.

PROCEEDINGS.

The Certificates of eight Candidates for Membership were read for the first time.

The following DONATIONS to the Society were laid upon the table :—

1. From the *Societies.*

Archæologia, or Transactions of the Society of Antiquarians, London, vols. xxxiii and xxxiv.

Proceedings of the Society, vol. i.

Do. Do. vol. ii (parts 18–32.)

Sussex Archæological Collections, vol. v.

Transactions of the Liverpool Architectural and Archæological Society, vol. i.

Archæologia Cambrensis, or Journal of the Cambrian Archæological Association, New Series, No. xii, for October, 1852.

Proceedings of the Numismatic Society, session 1851–52.

2. From the *Authors.*

Report on the Excavations made on the site of the Roman Castrum at Lyme in Kent, in 1850, by Charles Roach Smith, F.S.A., and James Elliott, Jun.

History of Liverpool, by Thos. Baines, Esq. Section 8, concluding.

Remarks on some of the Weapons of the Celtic and Teutonic Races, by John Yonge Akerman, Sec. S.A.

An Attempt to illustrate the Chronology of the Old Testament by a reference to the Year of Jubilee, by the Rev. George B. Sandford, M.A.

3. From *other* Donors.

Robt. Rawlinson, Esq., London.	Report to the Board of Health on a Preliminary Inquiry respecting KESWICK.
	Do. Do. respecting NEWTON HEATH.
	Do. Do. BARTON-UPON-IRWELL.
	Do. Do. MUCH WOOLTON.
	Minutes of Information collected with reference to Sewage, Manure, and the Health of Towns.
Thos. Eckersley, Esq., Wigan.	A gold coin of the Roman Emperor Vitellius, found at the Mesnes, Wigan.
John Harland, Esq., Manchester.	A series of Antiquarian Cuttings from the Manchester Guardian.
Robert Molyneux Green, Esq.	Ten silver coins found at Prescot in 1813, on taking down a house in the Market-place. They were found in an earthenware vessel glazed inside, about sixteen inches under the floor. The vessel was twelve inches high and nine in diameter; and contained several hundred silver coins with one piece of gold. These were two shillings of Edward VI, mint mark an oval; a sixpence of Edward VI, mint mark an oval; a shilling of Edward VI, mint mark "*y*."; a shilling of Philip and Mary; a shilling of James VI, (Scotland); a sixpence of Elizabeth, mint mark a crown; a shilling of James I, (England) mint mark a star; two half-crowns of James I, mint mark a vase.
John Mather, Esq.	Liverpool a Few Years since, by an Old Stager.
Dr. Kendrick, Warrington.	Models in Sulphur, by Mr. Doubleday of the British Museum, of the Jet Chess-men found at the Mote Hill, Warrington.
	Lithograph shewing the Excavations at the Mote Hill.

The following Articles were EXHIBITED :—

By John Mawdsley, Esq., Seacombe.	A large series of English coins in gold, silver and copper.
By J. G. Woodhouse, Esq.	A folio volume relating to Sicilian coins and medals.
	Lithographed fac-simile of Nelson's order for "Bronte" wine, intended to illustrate vol. iv of Proceedings and Papers.

By Joseph Mayer, F.S.A.	A medallion portrait of the Marquis of Westminster's fool.
By Peter R. M'Quie, Esq.	Leigh's Natural History of Lancashire and Cheshire, and of the Peak in Derbyshire, fol. 1700.
By Dr. Kendrick, of Warrington.	A large coloured drawing of the Excavations at the Mote Hill, Warrington, shewing the strata of earth, some of the objects discovered, &c.
By W. G. Herdman, Esq.	Drawings of several Dissenting Chapels, in Liverpool Ancient and Modern, to illustrate Dr. Thom's Paper for the Evening.

PAPERS.

I.—Liverpool Churches and Chapels; their Destruction, Removal, or Alteration: with Notices of Clergymen, Ministers, and Others.

By Rev. D. Thom, D.D., Ph. D., one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society.

PART II.

Having thus disposed of Churches and Chapels which at one time or another have been connected with the Establishment, our attention is now to be directed to Dissenting Congregations, and to changes which have taken place in the edifices where they have been in the habit of worshipping. Some of these changes having already attracted notice, we need not repeat them. We speak of,

1.—*Newington Chapel, Renshaw Street.*

A middling sized, respectable looking building, which, owing to its standing back considerably from the street, is apt to be overlooked by the stranger. But it is not altogether undeserving of his attention. There is an entrance to it also from Cropper Street. It was erected in 1777, by a body of English Presbyterians, chiefly connected with the small chapel in Toxteth Park, who, having taken exception to the appointment of Mr. Hugh Anderson to be minister, withdrew from their old associates. We have reason to believe that the choice of its site, as having been then out of the town, and requiring to be approached by a stile, was objected to by several of the congregation. Mr. Jonathan Mercer, who made the purchase, had some difficulty in overcoming the opposition of his friends. However, at

last he succeeded. So greatly have circumstances altered since that time, that the chapel, it will be allowed by all, is now central enough.

Mr. David Bruce was the first pastor, under whose care the congregation assembling in Newington Chapel became united to the Independents.

The character of Mr. Bruce was highly respectable. After labouring among his people usefully for the space of more than thirty years, he died 28th January, 1808. For some time before his death, he was assisted in the discharge of his ministerial duties by his nephew, Mr. John Bruce, afterwards located in the Isle of Wight, and for a long time chaplain and registrar at the Cemetery, Low-hill—author of a volume entitled "Necropolis," and other works. During the incumbency of Mr. David Bruce, at Newington Chapel, 1792, several of his congregation, joining with others like them favourable to the doctrine and discipline of the Established Church of Scotland, left him, to lay the foundation of Oldham Street Kirk, and place themselves under the pastoral care of Dr. Kirkpatrick.

Some years after Mr. Bruce's death, the congregation of Newington Chapel, having been struck with the eloquence and other pulpit gifts of Mr. Thomas Spencer, unanimously called on him to become their minister. He accepted the call. Early in 1811 he commenced his labours. Nothing could exceed his popularity. Crowds of persons, including churchmen as well as dissenters, constantly flocked to listen to him. He was then only twenty years of age. His extreme youth, the intonations of his voice which are said to have been music itself, and the ease and natural grace with which he spoke, conspired to impart to his public appearances an influence which was perfectly fascinating. His hearers, in spite of themselves, were hurried along by the stream and force of his oratory.* As one consequence of this state of things, an enlargement of the existing chapel, or the erection of a new one, became necessary. The latter alternative, as we shall see immediately, was adopted. In June, 1811, Mr. Spencer was ordained. Closely following this event, he laid the foundation-stone of Great George Street Chapel, a building intended for him, and rendered indispensable by the almost clamorous demand for sittings, occasioned by his pathetic and

* "SPENCER, from all I could learn at Liverpool during eleven years occupation of his pulpit, seems to have approached nearest to the pathos and fascination of Whitfield, but he had evidently none of his commanding majesty."—Philip's Life and Times of George Whitfield, p. 553.

effective pulpit addresses. But George Street Chapel he was never to occupy. Every inhabitant of Liverpool who has read Dr. Raffles's narrative of Thomas Spencer—and who that takes any interest in the religious affairs of the town has not read it?—is aware, that on the 5th day of August, 1811, the amiable, talented, and promising youth, of whom we are now speaking, was drowned while bathing in the River Mersey, near the then Herculaneum Potteries. The deep and thrilling sensation produced in the public mind by this event was all-absorbing, and is still remembered by many. Great lamentation and woe, especially among the dissenting body ensued. The funeral may justly be said to have been a public one. Spencer's corpse was deposited in the small burial ground attached to the chapel, in a grave situated between the building and Renshaw Street.

Consequent on Mr. Spencer's death was the appointment of Mr. Thomas Raffles, now D.D. and LL.D., as his successor; and the removal of the greater part of the congregation of Newington Chapel with that gentleman to the edifice in Great George Street, on May 29th, 1812.

After the lapse of two or three years the church and congregation, assembling in Newington, were again organized, and came under the pastoral care of Mr. Robert Philip. His induction took place in 1814 or 1815. Mr. Philip's ministry in Liverpool extended till 1826, when he demitted his charge, and went to London to preside over the religious services of Maberley Chapel. The public character of this gentleman, who is still alive, speaks for itself. He is well known as an author. Among his works may be mentioned the "Bethel Flag, or sermons to seamen," 1823, "The life and times of George Whitfield," and his biography of William Mylne, the Chinese Missionary.

It was during the incumbency of Mr. Philip, early in 1820,* that the present neat Gothic façade of Newington Chapel, as seen from Renshaw Street, was put up. Previously, the chapel had fronted Cropper Street. To the kindness and generosity of Mr. Benjamin Baker, marble mason and statuary, the congregation were indebted for a present of the stones, by which they were enabled to carry a very decided and desirable improvement of their place of worship into effect. Those now alive, who can recollect the not merely plain but unsightly aspect of the Renshaw Street

* "New fronted, 2nd of February, 1820." These words are engraved on the top of the right-hand buttress.

end of the chapel before the alteration took place, and have remarked its present appearance, are thereby qualified to understand how, by means of a little taste, enterprise, and pecuniary outlay, a positive eyesore may be converted into an ornament.

For some years after Mr. Philip's departure, Mr. Robert M'Lean, a gentleman of high respectability of character, occupied the pulpit.

To him, about 1831, succeeded Mr. Patrick Thomson, A.M.

Mr. William Lindsay Alexander, A.M., was in 1833 and 1834 pastor of Newington Chapel. The superiority of this gentleman's talents and attainments was too great and too well-known, to permit him to remain long the luminary of a comparatively obscure chapel in a provincial town. Hence his early removal to Edinburgh. This able and eminent man has for years been regarded as one of the ornaments of the Scottish Independent body. He is certainly one of their most influential ministers. His various publications, but above all, his connexion with Kitto's periodical, have acquired for him a high standing in the theologico-literary world. The University of St. Andrews, of which he had been an *alumnus*, as a mark of its approbation, and appreciation of his superior ability, some time ago conferred on him the degree of D.D. While in Liverpool he became favourably known as a controversialist. The Rev. William Dalton, A.M., then incumbent of St. Jude's, having in 1834 published his "Reasons for attachment to the Church of England," Mr. Alexander immediately assailed it in his "Examination of the 'Reasons,'" &c., a pamphlet displaying his possession of a vigorous intellect, and splendid argumentative powers.

When Mr. Alexander vacated the pulpit of Newington Chapel, it came to be occupied by Mr. William Dallison. The career of this zealous preacher was but a brief one. Having exerted himself far beyond his strength, fever soon stepped in to put an end to his life and ministry. His death took place in 1836, or early in 1837. In the same grave, with his lamented predecessor Spencer, his body reposes.* Mr. Dallison, by his zealous and earnest pulpit discourses, acquired considerable local popularity

Mr. William Bevan was Mr. Dallison's immediate successor. He com-

* An affecting incident has been related to us, on good authority, in connection with this gentleman's funeral. Immediately behind the corpse, in the procession, was seen Dr. Raffles, condescendingly and affectionately holding by the hand a little boy, the eldest son of the deceased, and apparently, from time to time, whispering words of consolation to the youthful mourner.

menced his pastorship July 12th, 1837. For ten years he approved himself to the people under his charge as an able and efficient minister. At last, his activity and superior business habits occasioned his removal to the Metropolis, in July, 1847. Reports of different Liverpool Societies, drawn up by himself as Secretary, during his residence in this town, gained him no small share of credit and influence.

The church* and congregation of Newington Chapel have for several years enjoyed the benefit of the able ministrations of Mr. Robert Spence, A. M., the present pastor.†

2.—*Great George Street Chapel.*

This beautiful structure, as it ranks the first in point of size, so is it the first as regards the number and respectability of its worshippers, among the dissenting chapels of Liverpool.

Its origin we have already noticed. Spencer's popularity was the immediate cause of its existence. That eloquent and popular preacher having laid the foundation stone in 1811, a short time before the melancholy catastrophe that terminated his life, it was opened for divine worship in May, 1812. Full particulars respecting Mr. Spencer's brief but interesting career, and some acquaintance with his style of writing, may be obtained by consulting Dr. Raffles's able, pleasing, and pathetic narrative,—a graceful tribute paid to the memory of the amiable and lamented youth, by his distinguished successor.

This leads me to observe, that the history of Great George Street Chapel may be briefly told. Nothing else, indeed, is it, up to the present moment, save a record of circumstances connected with the personal ministry of Dr. Raffles. He has, for the space of 40 years, officiated as its sole pastor. Through his exertions, not only the congregation, but the Independent interest as a whole, has flourished. For me, however, to expatiate in praise of his character would be an impertinence. The affection and confidence, not merely of those immediately under his charge, but of the congregational body in general, constitute his best eulogium. Degrees

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* The church, in a congregational sense, and in its present form, was organized at the time of Mr. Bevan's admission as Pastor, in July, 1837.

† Mr. Spence commenced preaching at Newington Chapel on the third Sunday of July, 1848, and was set apart, by imposition of hands, to the ministerial office, on the 26th day of October following.

of LL.D. and D.D., conferred upon him at different times, serve to shew that his literary merits have not been overlooked by those who possess the power of dispensing academical honours. His refusal of a London pulpit, when offered to him, affords a most decided proof of the strength of the affection subsisting between his people and himself. Concerning his urbanity, prudence, eloquence, poetical turn of mind, great general ability, and power of rivetting the attention of a popular audience, there can be but one opinion.

Besides his Life and Remains of Spencer, which has passed through several editions, the Doctor has given to the public his Tour on the Continent, two volumes of Discourses, several Sermons, preached on funeral and other occasions, and a variety of beautiful hymns. His tastes are antiquarian, and he is well known to excel in various branches of archæological lore. For the space of three years, being the term prescribed by you, he held the distinguished office in your Society, to which it was your pleasure sometime since to elevate the writer of these lines.

What George Street Chapel originally was, may be seen in prints and engravings of the building. I say, originally was; for the chapel of which Spencer laid the foundation stone, exists no longer.* Fire destroyed it on the 19th February, 1840. A single hour, from 9 to 10, a.m., sufficed to consume the whole of the interior. But its site did not long remain occupied by ruins. Subscriptions, by zealous and affectionate friends, were immediately entered into, having it for their object to replace the former building by one of greater commodiousness and magnificence. Success crowned the efforts of those concerned. The foundation stone of the new edifice was laid by Dr. Raffles, on the 7th July, 1840; and within a very limited period, the members of the church were again worshipping, on the same spot as formerly, under the roof of a chapel, not only far surpassing its predecessor, but in respect of size, and elegance of design, having but few com-

* Many are the dissenting ministers of eminence who have spoken from the pulpit of this chapel. Well do I remember hearing the celebrated and eccentric Rowland Hill preach in it, in the autumn (I think) of 1824. Enfeebled as he was by age, the energy put forth on the occasion by this great and good man, was to me perfectly astonishing. Be it borne in mind, that the Rev. Rowland Hill had been intimate with George Whitfield for some years prior to his death, in September, 1770; and that remarks of his are quoted by Toplady, as possessed of value, and carrying with them authority, under dates of March, 1770, and August, 1775. See Philip's "Life and Times of Whitfield," pp. 265, 500, 501, and 555; and Toplady's Works, (London: Baynes and Son, 1125.) vol. iv., pp. 320, and 354-5, where he is setting down "Excellent passages from Eminent Persons."

petitors, among the ecclesiastical structures of our town. It was opened October 21st, 1841.

3.—*Unitarian Chapel, Hope Street.*

This splendid and perfectly unique Gothic edifice, forming one of a group of public buildings, all calculated to draw and reward attention, was erected within the last three or four years, by the congregation, originally Presbyterian, which met for worship, first, in Kaye or Key Street Chapel, 1707, and which afterwards removed to Paradise Street, corner of School Lane, on the 11th day of September, 1791.

Under the head of "St. Matthew's Church former," (Key Street Chapel,) we have already given an abstract of the history of this congregation, and of the successive pastorates of Mr. Basnett, Mr. Brekell, Mr. Philip Taylor, and Mr. John Yates. To that we must refer the members of the Society for information. We now resume the thread of our narrative, where we previously broke off.

Respecting the fourth of the gentlemen just named, a few additional observations deserve to be made.

Mr. Yates' ministry was a very long one. It commenced at Key Street Chapel 1st October, 1777, and continued, after the removal of his flock with him to Paradise Street Chapel, in 1791, until the year 1812, when "he judged it expedient to resign his ministerial charge. But his congregation was so warmly attached to him, and so desirous of the continuance of his services, that he agreed to continue them with the aid of a co-pastor, and his hearers made choice of the late amiable and eloquent Pendlebury Houghton, who was one of his earliest friends, having been his fellow-student at Warrington Academy. At length, Mr. Yates and Mr. Houghton, as increasing years brought with them increased infirmity, simultaneously relinquished the pastoral office, in the spring of 1823,"* This event took place in the month of April, of that year. Some pleasing testimonials of gratitude and respect were presented to Mr. Yates, by his hearers, on that occasion. Notwithstanding, however, the severance of the link which had so long united them, a very close and endearing intercourse between the former pastor and his former congregation, was still kept up; and many tokens of mutual affection and esteem continued to be exchanged by the

* Monthly Repository, January, 1827, p. 69.

parties. Mr. Yates survived between 3 and 4 years his demission of the pastoral office. His death occurred November 10th, 1826, being the 71st anniversary of his birthday.* His remains were interred in the ancient cemetery connected with the Presbyterian Chapel, Toxteth Park. On Sunday, the 19th November following, Mr., afterwards Dr. Shepherd, of Gataker Chapel, so well known for his classical and literary attainments, and for years acting a most conspicuous part on the stage of politics,† preached the funeral sermon in Paradise Street Chapel, in presence of a numerous and sorrowing auditory. The discourse was afterwards published.‡ Much information of an interesting nature concerning the deceased is to be gleaned from this clever and characteristic performance; while persons who are desirous to become acquainted with still more minute particulars, are referred to an able and well written obituary, which appeared in the columns of the "Monthly Repository," for January, 1827. Mr. Yates, it seems, received occasional assistance, in the discharge of his pulpit duties, at a comparatively early period of his ministry, from two gentlemen who stood successively in the relation of tutors to his sons, viz., Mr. Benjamin Davies, afterwards of Walsall and Evesham, and Dr. Shepherd. To this we may add, that the only two productions ever issued from the press, of which he was avowedly the author or editor, were, one of them a sermon preached by him on occasion of the death of his friend, Dr. Barnes, of Cross Street Chapel, Manchester,§ and the other a selection of hymns, intended for public worship.||

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* Born at Bolton-le-Moors, Lancashire, Nov. 10, 1755. At the grammar school of that place, he received the elements of a classical education, while at the then celebrated Warrington academy he was trained for the ministry, under Drs. Enfield and Aiken.

† See, for *somewhat conflicting* accounts of this remarkable man, "Liverpool a few years since, by an Old Stager," pp. 61–63; and "Literary Reminiscences from the autobiography of an English opium eater," (De Quincey,) pp. 27, 28, and 36, of the Boston, U. S. edition, Tickner and Co., 1851. Those who wish to peruse the letter which De Quincey's stinging remarks drew forth from Dr. Shepherd, and the rejoinder to it, must consult "Tait's Edinburgh Magazine," for 1837, in which the "Reminiscences" originally appeared. It is impossible for any one who ever saw Dr. Shepherd to forget the singularly comical expression of his left eye.

‡ "A Sermon on occasion of the death of the Rev. John Yates, preached on Sunday, November 19th, 1826, in Paradise Street Chapel, by the Rev. William Shepherd;" published at Liverpool, London, Glasgow, Dublin, New York and Boston, 1826.

§ Dr. Barnes was Mr. Grundy's predecessor.

|| It is to be regretted that two sermons of Mr. Yates', one preached in exposure of the enormities and inhuman nature of the Slave Trade, January, 1788, which gave great offence to many influential members of his congregation, and the other on occasion of the opening of Paradise Street Chapel, Sunday, September 11th, 1791, although at the time transcribed and handed about in manuscript, have not survived in a more permanent form, to enrich the religious literature of our town.

Instead of entering at full length into the details of Mr. Pendlebury Houghton's personal history, I content myself with bringing the following abridgement of it under the notice of the Society. He was a native of Hyde, where he first saw the light in 1758. For the earlier part of his education, he was indebted to his father, Mr. John Houghton, a dissenting minister, who taught school successively at Namptwich and Ealand; at Warrington Academy he was entered in 1773; after completing his studies there, he assisted Dr. Aiken for a twelvemonth in the chair of classic literature, and commenced the duties of the ministry at Doblane Chapel, near Manchester, at the expiry of that period. There, however, his stay was but short. In 1781, we find him discharging the functions of the pastoral office at Shrewsbury. In 1787, leaving Shrewsbury, he became colleague to his old tutor, Dr. Enfield, in the Octagon Chapel, Norwich; and in 1797, on the death of that able and accomplished man, undertook to act as sole minister. Norwich he quitted in 1808, in consequence of having been appointed to the charge of Prince's Street Chapel, Westminster; but to Norwich he returned in 1810. From 1812 till 1823, he was, as we have already seen, co-pastor with Mr. Yates, in Paradise Street Chapel, Liverpool. Both colleagues having simultaneously resigned in the year last specified, Mr. Houghton retired altogether from the ministry. He went to reside with Mr. Henry Dowson, who had married his only daughter—his only child indeed—at Geldestone, near Beccles, Co. Suffolk. There, on the 3rd April, 1824, he died and was buried. He still lives in the affectionate recollection of many of his Liverpool friends. His dispositions are stated by his biographer, Mr. Robberds, to have been gentle and amiable, and his appearance venerable and impressive.* Abilities of a superior order, combined with great taste, have uniformily been ascribed to him by his admirers.†

* "Apostolic" is the term applied to the personal appearance of Mr. Houghton, not only by Robberds, his biographer, (see p. 20,) but by others. By more than one gentleman, I have heard him described, as having borne a resemblance to the portraits of John Wesley. This, I am inclined to doubt. Certain it seems to be, that there was something peculiarly prepossessing and engaging, as well as venerable and commanding, in his general aspect. Great simplicity—not that of weakness, but of power and mental superiority—was, I suspect, his leading characteristic.

† For my own part, I must confess, that I have been somewhat disappointed by a perusal of the first volume of Robberd's edition of Mr. Houghton's Sermons, 1826. Perhaps, this has been the result of the exceedingly high terms in which they had been previously spoken of to me by two gentlemen, the competency of whom to judge, in a matter of this kind, it has never occurred to me to dispute. I now feel that I had been led to anticipate too much. Let me do these sermons justice, however. Viewed as pieces of composition, they deserve to be spoken of as excellent. They abound in specimens of good sense—are occasionally very eloquent—exhibit throughout the most

While at Norwich, in 1790, he published a volume of sermons; a second edition of which appeared in 1809, having annexed to it Essays on the Natural Arguments for a Future State, and a discourse for a charitable purpose, which he had preached and published in 1801. Two additional volumes of sermons were prepared and sent to the press, by Mr. Houghton, a short time before his decease; but did not appear until after that event, in 1825. They were published by Rowland Hunter, London; are embellished by a portrait of the auther, and have prefixed to them a sketch of his life and character, by Mr. J. G. Robberds, of Manchester.

To Messrs. Yates and Houghton, Mr. John Grundy succeeded in 1823. This gentleman, who was a nephew of the celebrated John Prior Estlin, LL.D., and had for some years been one of the ministers of Cross Street Chapel, Manchester, had become rather eminent during his stay in that place, by the part which he took in the Unitarian controversy, as well as by his general superiority in point of talents. Two volumes of discourses attest his eloquence, his elegance of taste, and his acquaintance with the topics of which he treats. At the opening of the chapel in Renshaw Street, in 1811, he had been selected to officiate. Judging from a long extract that appears in Mr.

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refined taste—are distinguished by a use of imagery, judicious and sparing, but indicating the rich and copious stores, upon which, when he pleased, the author was ready to draw —are expressed in the choicest English phraseology—and breathe throughout the language of genuine philanthropy. Set off by those graces of elocution, which he had studied carefully in the school of Enfield, and which all who have been his hearers concur in ascribing to him, these discourses must, in the delivery, have been singularly impressive. Having said this, however, I have said all. I miss in these compositions depth, strength, originality, and some other of the highest qualities of intellect. They appear to me to be what a man classically educated, gifted with taste, and possessed of superior, but not first-rate talents, and of a decidedly benevolent temper, might be expected to produce. Marks of the pruning knife everywhere appear; indeed, with a true English sense of propriety, the discourses have evidently been tamed, and toned down. Of their theology, I say not a word. In point of common sense, sound practical morality, and occasionally of style even, they remind me of Blair; but, whenever this is the case, it is Blair condensed and improved. The eloquence of Houghton is natural, not factitious,—he is not a mere spinner out of sentences,—and he can boast of something like genius,—in all which respects he stands distinguished from the dreadfully over-bepraised sermon-writer of last century. Notwithstanding my employment of language which by some of the out and out admirers of Pendlebury Houghton may be regarded as unduly disparaging, this I am willing to admit, that, like some other eminent men, he has left upon my mind the impression of having possessed abilities far superior to those, which disclose themselves on the face of his writings.

I cannot dismiss this note, without mentioning what I have heard, on what I deem to be good authority, that a clergyman, belonging to the Established Church, in this town, pretty well known in his time, and many years ago deceased, was so enamoured of Mr. Houghton's sermons, and style of preaching, as to have declared, that but for his own duties having imperatively demanded his presence elsewhere, he would have been regularly one of that gentleman's hearers.

Taylor's MS. volume, pp. 42–45, the sermon which he delivered on the occasion must have been a very interesting and impressive one. Mr. Grundy's pulpit discourses, while minister of Paradise Street Chapel, were much admired. But his connexion with it, and the congregation worshipping in it, was not of very long continuance. About 1832, or 1833, he demitted his office.* Infirm health was in a great measure the cause of his taking this step. His death occurred several years afterwards. From my personal recollection of Mr. Grundy, I am enabled to speak of him as having been an exceedingly amiable, gentlemanlike, and well-informed man.

After Mr. Grundy's relinquishment of the situation, its duties devolved on Mr. James Martineau, who had for some time been officiating at Eustace Street Meeting House, Dublin, as assistant to his aged relation, Mr. Philip Taylor, formerly spoken of; and to whom, on occasion of Mr. Taylor's death, the succession had been offered. Conscientious motives, most honourable to Mr. Martineau, had dictated a refusal on his part.† At this time, his eminence and promising talents, having attracted much notice among the Unitarian body, and he besides having been favourably known in Liverpool, an invitation to succeed Mr. Grundy was forwarded to him, with which he saw meet to comply.

Mr. Martineau, who is a native of Norwich, and one of the brothers of the celebrated Miss Harriet Martineau, is himself too well known, and too highly appreciated, as a public speaker, a man, and a writer on political as well as religious topics, to stand in need of any encomiums of mine. All his productions are sought after. In particular, his "Rationale of Religious Inquiry," which has passed through at least three editions, and his "Endeavours after the Christian Life," in two parts, have obtained for him no small degree of reputation, not only among members of his own religious community, but the reading public in general. The part which he took in the Unitarian controversy, in this town, about the year 1839, is not yet forgotten. Some interesting correspondence, growing out of this, will be found in the

* I observe that he is set down as co-pastor with Mr. Martineau, in the Liverpool Directory, for 1833.

† He could not conscientiously accept of the *Regium Donum*, which, for the last 50 or 60 years, Government has been in the habit of allowing to the Irish Presbyterian ministers. Most cheerfully would he have officiated as pastor, relying on the generous support of the congregation alone. Finding, however, a disinclination to meet his wishes on this point, rather than damage, in a pecuniary sense, the interests of the chapel on the one hand, or submit to become a State stipendiary on the other, he relinquished the proffered charge.

memoir of the late Dr. Byrth, of Wallasey, recently published by Mr. Moncrieff.*

It is, perhaps, quite superfluous to add, that Mr. Martineau still continues minister of the congregation, formerly worshipping in Paradise Street,† but which took possession of the present elegant edifice in Hope Street, two or three years since.‡ How striking the contrast between the few plain Presbyterians, principally Scotch and Irish, who first assembled for devotional purposes, in Key Street Chapel, 1707, and the genteel, highly-cultivated, and flourishing congregation which now listens weekly to the prelections of their present talented minister! By the way, some of the descendants of the original founders of this body, now moving in the highest circles of Liverpool Society, are still to be found enrolled among the supporters of the cause.

Several interesting monuments, including one erected to the benevolent and public-spirited Mr. Brooks, Grand-Uncle of the present venerable Archdeacon of this diocese, (see the inscription in Moss' history,)§ adorn the walls of the chapel in Hope Street. Most, if not all of these, had been previously put up in the Meeting House, Paradise Street.

4.—*Unitarian Chapel, Renshaw Street.*

By means of Mr. Taylor's MS. volume, and polite communications from Mr. John Hamilton Thom, and Mr. John Mather, I have been put in possession of minute particulars concerning the origin and progress of the congregation which meets for worship in this chapel. To these I am

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* See pages 143-150. The work is entitled, "Remains of Thomas Byrth, D.D., F.A.S., Rector of Wallasey, with a memoir of his life. London: Pritchard, 1851."

† Where he officiated for fifteen or sixteen years. The chapel, having been disposed of by the Trustees, has by its new owners been converted into a Concert Hall.

‡ While it was building, he spent a twelvemonth in Germany.

§ By "Moss' History," I mean the work which was published anonymously in Liverpool, in 1795. This remark applies to Part 1, as well as to this. Doubts, however, have been thrown on the assumption of Moss being the author. The following passage, which occurs in "The Liverpool Guide," by W. Moss, p. 3, I am bound to lay before the Society. It occurs in the course of the author's enumeration of the persons who have written on the subject of Liverpool affairs:—

"A familiar medical survey of Liverpool, addressed to the inhabitants.———— By W. Moss, Surgeon, Liverpool. Octavo, 1784. Scarce."

"A general and descriptive history of the ancient and present state of the town of Liverpool, &c. Octavo, 1795. No author's name."

Now, when quoting "Moss," or "Moss' history," I mean uniformily not the work of 1784, or the "Guide" of 1799, but the 8vo. volume which appeared anonymously in 1795.

enabled to add facts which have come within the scope of my own personal knowledge.

The Renshaw Street congregation seems to have sprung directly out of the old English Presbyterian body, which occupied, and met for devotional purposes, in the small chapel, Toxteth Park, near the Dingle. Mr. Taylor's account* of the Rev. Richard Mather, father of Dr. Increase Mather, grandfather of Dr. Cotton Mather, both of Massachusetts, New England, and ancestor of highly respectable families in the mother country,† who was pastor of the Park Chapel from 1618, till 1635, when he emigrated to America, is most interesting.‡ After having been under the ministry successively of persons whose names are given, and of whom we are supplied with short accounts, in Mr. Taylor's MS., Toxteth Chapel came under the spiritual superintendence of Mr. Thomas Crompton, M.A., (originally co-pastor with Mr. Michael Briscoe,) who expired at Manchester, in 1699.§ During the incumbency of Mr. Crompton at Toxteth, and subsequently to Mr. Briscoe's death in 1685, he had as his associate in the ministry there, Mr. Christopher Richardson,‖ one of the ejected clergymen of 1662. It was by Mr. Richardson, that the first congregation of Presbyterians, in the town of Liverpool, seems to have been brought together and organised. This was about 1687, or 1688, and happened, probably, in consequence of the liberty granted by the Dispensing Edict of James II., one of the steps which led to that ill-advised monarch's downfall. The liberty in question, however, merely afforded an opportunity for the erection of the new chapel. Increase of population, the inconveniences attendant on having to repair to Toxteth Park for worship, and the desire to have a place of meeting nearer at hand, there is little reason to doubt, contributed mainly towards the establishment of the Liverpool society. Mr. Pulmer, in his "Non-Conformists' Memoirs," states, that Mr. Richardson preached alternately, one Lord's day at the Park, and one in Liverpool. He died December, 1698, aged 80.

The original meeting house of this body of Presbyterians in Liverpool, was situated in Castle Hey, now Harrington Street: where, however, seems to be unknown. No local tradition even points to it. Concerning it, Mr.

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* Given chiefly on the authority of the celebrated Samuel Clarke.

† May I not say, of respected members of our Society?

‡ Mr. Taylor's MS. Work, so rich in local information, and so admirably condensed will, it is hoped, yet be published.

§ September 2nd.—He had previously removed in 1695, to Eccles, near Manchester.

‖ From Kirkheaton, Yorkshire, if I mistake not.

Henry Taylor thus speaks, MS. volume, page 23; "the former one," Castle Hey Chapel, "was probably pulled down, as no trace of it can be remembered, nor can the spot on which it stood be ascertained. There was, it is to be presumed, nothing remarkable about the appearance of the building."*

At Mr. Richardson's death, 1698, a separation between Toxteth Park, and Castle Hey Chapels, seems to have taken place. His successors in the former will be found enumerated below.† Mr. Richard Holt was the second incumbent of the latter. He continued to preside over the Society till his death in 1718. Mr., afterwards Dr. Henry Winder, one of the most distinguished ministers of whom the English Presbyterian body of a former day, can boast, was his successor. To his friend, Dr. George Benson, we are indebted for a very interesting memoir of this eminent man, prefixed to a second edition of the Dr. Winder's "Critical and Chronological History of the rise, progress, declension, and revival of knowledge, chiefly religious," in 2 vols., 4to., published 1755. Dr. Winder was born at Hutton-John, Graystock, Cumberland, May 15, 1693—began his studies, preparatory to an Academical career, under Mr. Dixon, Whitehaven, about 1708‡—went subsequently to Dublin, where he prosecuted his researches in divinity and biblical criticism, under Mr. Boyce, and other learned

* May I request the members of the Society to look back to a suggestion which I have thrown out, in a note, Part 1, under the head of St. Mary's, Harrington?

† To Mr. Richardson, at Toxteth Park, succeeded Mr. John Kennion, who died incumbent of the chapel, in 1728. Then followed Mr. Gillibrand. This gentleman's ministry was not a long one. Mr. William Harding, from Congleton, Cheshire, took his place, in 1737, and continued to discharge the pastoral functions till his death, 15th July, 1776, aged 85 years. Mr. Hugh Anderson, whose incumbency extended to the period of half a century, was next in order. He was, as already stated, ordained along with Mr. Yates, in Key Street Chapel, 1st October, 1777. Mr. Anderson's appointment, is remarkable, as having, on account of his alleged Arian sentiments, given occasion to the erection of Newington Chapel, Renshaw Street, and through it, either directly, or indirectly, to that of the following places of worship:—Scotch Kirk, Oldham Street, Gloucester Street Chapel—and thus to the Chapel, corner of Mount Plesaant and Great Orford Streets—Great George Street Chapel, Scotch Kirk, Rodney Street—Presbyterian Chapels, Myrtle Street and Huskisson Street—Irish Presbyterian Kirk, Islington, Mill Street Chapel, and that in Bold Street, the congregation worshipping in which is now removed to Crown Street. I knew Mr. Anderson personally. Up almost to the very close of his life, about 1829, or 1830, his was "a green old age." He was tall, erect, and had a very respectable look. For some years before he died, he was pensioned off by the Society, over which he had so long presided. His successors have been Mr. John Porter, (1827 to 1829,) cousin of Mr. John Scott Porter, and now minister of Rosemary Street Chapel, Belfast—Mr. John H. Thom, now of Renshaw Street Chapel, (1829–1831)—Mr. Charles Wickstead, now of Leeds—Mr. Henry Giles, now in the United States of America, (who took part in the Unitarian controversy, 1839,) and Mr. John Robberds, B. A., the present minister.

‡ He had for fellow students, among others, Dr. Rotherham, of Kendal, and Dr. John Taylor, of Norwich.

men, connected at that period with the Presbyterian body—and, having been licensed to preach in Dublin, made his first appearance in the pulpit, in that city.

His first settlement was at Tunley, Lancashire, as successor to Mr. Edward Rothwell, in 1714, and his ordination to the ministry, along with that of Mr. Mather, took place at St. Helens, in the same county, 1716, the sermon on the occasion having been preached by Mr. Christopher Basnett, of Key Street Chapel, Liverpool.

Such a luminary as Mr. Winder, could not long be permitted to expend its radiance on a locality so obscure as that of Tunley. In 1718, we find him called on to occupy the place in Castle Hey Chapel, in our even then rapidly rising town, just left vacant by the death of Mr. Holt. From Castle Hey, the congregation removed to Benn's Garden, in 1727, taking possession of a place of worship, which, by their liberality, they had been enabled to erect.* There the eminent man, of whom I am now speaking, upon whom, in 1740, the University of Glasgow had conferred the degree of Doctor of Divinity, continued to officiate till his death, on the 9th day of August, 1752. He had been seized with palsy in 1746. By this disease, his frame was greatly debilitated, and the grief occasioned by the death of his friend, Dr. Rotherham, sufficed to bring on the last and fatal stroke. His remains were interred in St. Peter's Church yard, Liverpool, at the east end, where a stone was afterwards put up, with an appropriate inscription.

Dr. Winder was an ardent friend to civil and religious liberty, and a staunch supporter of the House of Hanover. His political sentiments he evinced by opposing a strenuous and life-long resistance to the Test and Corporation Acts, and by a very large contribution towards the raising of a regiment, for the defence of the town, in 1745.

He seems to have been an able, eloquent, amiable and liberal-minded man. His numerous works, both in print and manuscript, attest the extent and variety of his attainments. To him, the congregation is indebted, for having, by his latter-will, bequeathed to it, for the use of its members, his very valuable library.

The death of Dr. Winder, in 1752, was followed by the accession to the

* A house, close to the chapel, was provided for the residence of the minister.

pastoral charge, of Mr. John Henderson. This gentleman, who was from Dublin,* and had been educated at the University of Glasgow,† assisted Dr. Winder for a considerable time prior to his decease. His assuming the sole charge on occasion of that event, was almost a matter of course. And he was not altogether undeserving of his preferment. According to Wakefield, "he had the character of an excellent preacher, and was very popular." Having for about eleven years discharged the duties of sole pastor to the Benn's Garden congregation, he, in 1763, saw meet to conform to the Established Church. He was, by the Corporation of Liverpool, at a subsequent period,‡ appointed the first incumbent of the then newly completed Church of St. Paul. Over the latter part of Dr. Henderson's life it is desirable to drop a veil. Such as are curious in regard to Liverpool men and matters, and would like to know more concerning this personage, may consult Gilbert Wakefield's "Memoirs," vol. i., pp. 203–206, ed. 1804. Painfully interesting are the facts there related, and most severe on the conduct of the reverend gentleman are the remarks there made. Mr. Taylor, I observe, also expresses himself very severely in his MS. volume, p. 24. The Doctor died during Mr. Wakefield's§ short curacy at St. Paul's, 4th July, 1779, and lies buried under a grave stone, on which are recorded his name, age, and period of demise, at the south-east end of the church, in the angle formed by the south transept and the chancel.

A celebrated man, Dr. Wm. Enfield, was chosen to supply Dr. Henderson's place in Benn's Garden Chapel, and was ordained as its minister in November, 1763. Concerning one so distinguished by his talents, writings, and general character, I may well be excused enlarging. His name belongs, not to Liverpool alone, but to England, or rather to the Empire at large. Suffice it to say, that after having given entire satisfaction to his flock and numerous admiring friends here, he quitted Benn's Garden Chapel, in 1770, to become Tutor in the department of *Belles Letters*, and *Rector Academicus*, at the Warrington Academy. This Institution, so famous in

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* His family, Mr. Taylor states, was connected with the Eustace Street congregation there.

† From which learned body, I presume, he had, at a subsequent period, his diploma of D.D.

‡ In 1769, if I mistake not.—See Moss.

§ Mr. Wakefield left Liverpool to become one of the Tutors in the then flourishing Warrington Academy, almost immediately after Dr. Henderson's death, and continued in that Institution until it was broken up in 1783.

its day, was closed in 1783. Dr. Enfield left Warrington in 1785. He had, during his stay at Warrington, added to his other duties, that of minister of the Presbyterian Chapel there. He went from it to Norwich, to resume the pastoral character, as minister of the Octagon Chapel in that city; and in that situation, he finished his active and useful literary and theological career, November 3rd, 1797, in the 57th year of his age.* The short, but exceedingly pleasing memoir, drawn up by John Aiken, M.D., will no doubt be consulted by those who desire to become better acquainted with the history of this amiable and eminent man. His publication, in 1774, after going to Warrington, of Mr. George Perry's map, engravings, and notices of Leverpool, (so he spells the word,) with a preface, and additional historical observations of his own—characterised by his usual acumen and elegance—entitle him to particular mention, in a paper like that which I am now submitting to the Society. A list of his various publications will be found in Dr. Aiken's narrative. (See vol. i, of Dr. Aiken's Miscellaneous Works, with life, published by his daughter.) During his residence at Warrington, Dr. Enfield was complimented with the degree of Doctor of Laws, by the University of Edinburgh..

Closely following in order of succession, as one of the ministers of Benn's Garden Chapel, we find Mr. Robert Lewin. His induction took place in November, 1770. This gentleman, it appears, was a native of London, where his father for thirty years held a high and confidential situation in the Bank of England, and he had been educated at Mr. David Jenning's Academy, then in Well-close Square, in the Metropolis.† He had been ordained at Dabenham, in Suffolk, where he officiated as pastor for four or five years; and had spent from 1766 till 1770, as assistant to Mr. Scott, minister of a congregation at Ipswich. The incumbency of Mr. Lewin was a very protracted one, extending over a period of 46 years. He preached his last discourse in Benn's Garden Chapel, on occasion of that place being abandoned for the new edifice in Renshaw Street, 13th October, 1811; and opened Renshaw Street Chapel, on the morning of the Lord's day following, October 20th; Mr. Grundy, then of Cross Street,

* Mr. P. Houghton was, as we have seen, his colleague at Norwich, from 1787 till 1797.

† Mr. Robert Lewin was related by marriage to the illustrious and benevolent John Howard, who, I am informed, on the authority of his, Mr. L's. nephew, Mr. Samuel Walter, occasionally visited him, at his house in Duke Street, between Colquitt and Berry Streets. On one occasion, Mr. Walter saw Mr. Howard there.

Chapel, Manchester, preaching in the afternoon. Mr. Lewin's resignation of the pastoral charge took place at the close of the year 1816, and his death 16th January, 1825, in his 86th year. His body was interred in the small, but ancient cemetery, at the Park Chapel, where the ashes of so many of the forefathers of our present leading Unitarians repose.

During his ministry, Mr. Lewin was generally understood to be a supporter of what is commonly denominated the Arian theory of religion. According to Mr. Walter—himself a Swedenborgian—towards the close of his life, he professed his belief in the proper Deity of Jesus Christ. "Jesus is God," "Jesus is God," is language which, after quitting Renshaw Street, his nephew says he once heard him utter, in the presence of Mr. Charles Leadbetter, an aged Swedenborgian minister, still alive, and himself. A discussion on the subject had preceded.*

Two colleagues, at different periods, shared his duties and responsibilities at Benn's Garden Chapel, with Mr. Lewin.

The first of these was Dr. Clayton, already mentioned. On the breaking up of the Octagon † congregation, in February, 1776, the greater part of this gentleman's friends agreed to join the body of worshippers in Benn's Garden, on condition of their beloved pastor being associated with Mr. Lewin, in the work of the ministry there. The connexion terminated in 1781, in consequence of Dr. ‡ Clayton's appointment to the Theological Chair, at Warrington Academy, rendered vacant by the death of Dr. Aiken.§ Dr. Clayton returned to Liverpool, broken in health, in 1783; became colleague to Mr. Walker, Nottingham, 1785; again, ten years afterwards, took up his residence in Liverpool, (at the Loggerheads' cottage, top of Richmond Row,) and died there, May 20th, 1797, aged 66. He had, early in life, been a pupil of Dr. Doddridge.||

* A Sermon preached by Mr. Lewin, on occasion of the general peace, July, 1784, (should it not be 1783? Mr. Taylor is my authority,) was afterwards published.

† St. Catherine's, Temple Court.

‡ He received his diploma of D.D. from the University of Edinburgh in 1782. According to Mr. Taylor, MS. volume, p. 32, in conferring this degree, the learned Senatus Academicus of the Scotch Metropolitan University merely anticipated a similar honour which had been designed for him by that of Glasgow. Of the last-named University, Dr. Clayton was an *alumnus*.

§ Father of John Aiken, M.D., and Mrs. Barbauld. He died 1780. A marble tablet, erected to his memory, with a Latin inscription, written by Gilbert Wakefield, may be seen in the Unitarian Chapel at Warrington.

|| Towards the close of the first volume of Gilbert Wakefield's "Memoirs," there will be found a very sensible and amiable letter, addressed by Dr. Clayton to that distinguished literary character.

In the year 1781, on the departure of Dr. Clayton to Warrington, Mr. Joseph Smith succeeded him, as Mr. Lewin's co-pastor. Mr. Smith, who was a native of Cheshire, had been one of the *elèves* at Warrington Academy. His first settlement was at Shrewsbury, from which he removed to Benn's Garden, Liverpool.* On the 19th July, 1801, in consequence of an infirm state of health, Mr. Smith took leave of his colleague and flock, in the capacity of one of the pastors. This step on his part proved to be final. Although he continued to worship with the Society, till his death, he never afterwards resumed his ministerial functions. He departed this life, 8th August, 1815, and was buried in the cemetery of the Park Chapel.†

Pursuing the course of our narrative, we have now to notice the facts of the purchase of land in Renshaw Street, from the late Samuel Staniforth, Esq., in 1810,—the laying of the foundation stone of the present chapel, on the 31st July, in that year,—and the formal opening of it, on the 20th October, 1811, by Messrs. Lewin and Grundy. The chapel in Benn's Garden, and the adjoining house, intended for the use of the minister, were both disposed of. Since that time, the chapel has been in the occupation of a body of Welsh Wesleyan Methodists.

Behind the chapel in Renshaw Street, there was opened, in 1819, a cemetery, or burial ground, for the use of the Society. Besides the remains of Dr. Clayton, which were exhumed on occasion of the demolition of St. Catherine's, and deposited here towards the close of 1819, there repose within the precincts of this small graveyard, the bodies of several other distinguished individuals, among whom may be named the historian, William Roscoe, and the Reverend Joseph Blanco White, author of "Letters of Don Leucadio Doblado;" "Poor man's preservative against Popery," &c.

What remains of the history of this chapel and its congregation, may be dismissed in a few paragraphs.

Mr. George Harris, an *alumnus* of Glasgow University, and then officiating at Maidstone, Kent, was, in 1817, chosen to supply the vacancy occasioned by Mr. Lewin's resignation. He began his ministerial services on the 12th day of July, of the year just mentioned,

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* At Shrewsbury he was succeeded by Mr. Pendlebury Houghton.

† Was he not maternal grandfather of our able and curiously learned colleague, Thomas Dorning Hibbert, Esq.?

and relinquished them on the 31st March, 1822. Few men can compete with Mr. Harris, in point of activity, mental energy, and powerful pulpit declamation. His personal appearance, in his youthful days, was handsome, and most imposing. Having announced his intention, during the Winter of 1819–1820, to deliver a series of lectures, or discourses, on controversial subjects, great excitement was thereby created among the religious portion of the Liverpool community, and Renshaw Street Chapel was crowded, every Lord's day evening, by attentive and deeply interested auditors. The manner of the preacher was exceedingly impressive. As the Winter and Spring advanced, public feeling became more and more excited; * and this state of things continued till the termination of the course. Three ministers, of different denominations, entered the lists against him. First, the Rev. John Jones, A. M., minister of St. Andrew's Church, Liverpool, who published "a sermon on the eternity of future punishment, preached" at his own church, "on Sunday evening, November 21st, 1819;" secondly, Mr. James Barr, then of Oldham Street Kirk, here, now of St. Enoch's, Glasgow; † and thirdly, Mr. Robert Philip, then of Newington Chapel, here, and now of Maberley Chapel, London, of whom we have had occasion to speak already.‡ Mr. Harris' discourses appeared in the form of a large 8vo. volume, in 1820. This talented and actively-minded gentleman has, since quitting Liverpool, been pastor successively at the chapel, Moor-Lane, Bolton, 1822–1824,—at Union Street Chapel, Glasgow, where he remained for many years, conducting, as Editor, "the Christian Pioneer,"—at St. Mark's Terrace, Edinburgh—and now at Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Several of Mr. Harris' occasional discourses, published at different times, have excited great public interest. §

Mr. William Hincks, from Exeter, who had previously been stationed for some time at Cork, on a unanimous invitation from the congregation worshipping in Renshaw Street, accepted of the pastoral oversight among them, and entered on the discharge of his ministerial labours, 3rd Novem-

* The walls, I am informed, were for months chalked with allusions to the subjects of his lectures. "Harris kill the Devil," "No hell fire," &c., &c.

† Mr. Barr's pamphlet, between 50 and 60 pages, 8vo., drawn up in the form of a letter, and subscribed "Aliquis," procured for its author the degree of Doctor of Divinity, from the University of Glasgow.

‡ An oversight committed by this gentleman, in reference to the Hebrew original of Psalm cx., 1, was immediately and adroitly seized on, and turned to account by his religious opponents.

§ Witness his Sermon on "the Rathcormac Massacre," which had an immense circulation, and passed through several editions.

ber, 1822. His incumbency came to a close in 1827. Since that time, he has been tutor at Manchester College, York, minister at Stamford Street Chapel, London, and Professor of Natural History, Queen's College, Cork, where, I believe, he now is. His brother, Mr. John Hincks, like himself, born at Cork, but educated at Belfast, became, in 1827, his successor at Renshaw Street Chapel. He had had an offer of the chapel at Toxteth Park, on Mr. Anderson's resignation,* but had declined. After a short ministry, and at an early period of life, this amiable and promising man was removed by death† from his sorrowing congregation and friends.‡

To this lamented youth, succeeded Mr. John Hamilton Thom, a native of Newry, educated at the Belfast Academical Institution, where his career was a distinguished one, and who had for some time, 1829–1831, discharged the duties of pastor at the Toxteth Park Chapel. His election took place in 1831. Concerning this able, highly accomplished, and independently-minded man, as being still alive, and still officiating as the minister of Renshaw Street Chapel, a sense of delicacy forbids me to say what otherwise I might have done, in the way of well deserved commendation. This much, however, I must be permitted to express. He shewed his kind and generous feelings, by editing, soon after his settlement at Renshaw Street, a volume of select sermons, of his immediate predecessor, Mr. John Hincks, accompanied by a brief memoir of the author, written by himself. His "Sermon on the death of William Roscoe, Esq.," 1831, his "Memoirs of the Reverend Joseph Blanco White," in 3 vols., his numerous occasional pamphlets and discourses, his correspondence with the late Dr. Byrth, and many clever articles in the "Christian Teacher," and "Prospective Review," have contributed, along with his well-known attainments, and otherwise, to secure him a deservedly high standing in the literary world.

5.—*Baptist Chapel, Byrom Street.*

With respect to the origin of this structure, and its opening, in 1789, enough has been said already, under the head of St. Stephen's Church. It is a large, plain, and substantial building, capable of accommodating with ease from

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* 1827. † February 5th, 1831.

‡ He was a remarkably handsome young man. A scene which I witnessed in the vestry of Bold Street Chapel, Liverpool, in August, 1829, in which Mr. Hincks was insulted most grossly and wantonly by the infidels Taylor, and R. Carlile, while on their "Tour," and in which he comported himself with the greatest mildness, forbearance, and gentlemanlike courtesy, will continue to dwell in my memory, till my dying day.

800 to 1000 sitters, and is situated at the bottom of Gerard Street. A small graveyard is attached to it. Several years ago, the carrying of a railway tunnel under the graveyard, and, if I am not mistaken, under an angle of the Chapel likewise, occasioned its purchase by the London and North-Western Railway Company, and its temporary discontinuance as a place of worship. Recently, having been purchased by Mr. Johnson, it is again used as a meeting house, by a section of the Baptist body.

Upon the death of Mr. Medley, in 1799, Mr. Robert Davies* was appointed his successor. A division among the members was the result. Mr. Davies' ministry in Byrom Street terminated about 1811, by his resignation. The church then called Mr. Moses Fisher, who, I perceive, by the Baptist Annual Register, for 1802, p. 1148, had been ordained at New Brentford, November 18, 1802, to take the spiritual oversight of them. Than Mr. Fisher, a more meek, amiable, Christian-like man, I have scarcely ever known. His connexion with his Byrom Street flock was brought to an end in 1824, subsequently to which he successively ministered to parties worshipping in Oil Street, Cockspur Street, and Soho Street† Chapels. Death closed his earthly career on the 17th January, 1840. His remains were deposited in the Necropolis, where, I recollect having heard him deliver an address, over the body of Miss Martha Hope, on occasion of the place being opened as a Cemetery, in January, 1825.‡ Mr. Samuel Saunders, from Frome, where he had officiated about nineteen years, after a considerable interval had elapsed, took Mr. Fisher's place at Byrom Street.§ The superior abilities and high attainments of Mr. Saunders, are well known, and were evinced in a volume of eloquent and powerfully-written discourses, on the Lord's Prayer, and in "Lectures on Non-Conformity," which he published during his settlement in Liverpool. Like that of his brother, the Rev. Isaac Saunders, rector of St. Anne's, Blackfriars, London, the death of Mr. Saunders, of Liverpool, was sudden. He de-

* Called Richard Davis, or Davies, in the Liverpool Directories of 1800, 1803, and 1804. Who is the Rev. David Davies set down in the Street portion of the Directory of 1805?

† In the same building, situated nearly opposite Queen Anne Street, the foundation stone of which, as the "Cathedral of the Primitive Episcopal Church," (see "Primitive Episcopal Magazine," May, 1822, pp. 90–97,) had been laid by *Bishop* West.

‡ On the occasion referred to, and before Mr. Fisher spoke, Dr. Raffles, I remember, formally opened the Cemetery, by the delivering of an inaugural discourse. Considerable interest was excited by what the Doctor said respecting the Cimetière du Pere la Chaise, in Paris, and other burial places of a similar description.

§ In 1826, I think.

parted this life, May 19th, 1835, and was interred in the cemetery, Low-hill. (Necropolis.)* His incumbency here had extended to a period of about nine years.

After the lapse of a short interval, Mr. C. M. Birrell, at one time resident in St. Petersburgh, Russia, was appointed to occupy the pulpit, left vacant by the death of Mr. Saunders. This took place in 1835, or 1836. Byrom Street Chapel, however, was not destined long to enjoy the benefit of Mr. Birrell's ministrations. The question respecting "close" or "open communion,"—frequently stirred among persons of the Baptist persuasion, but brought to something like a height in the early part of this century, by the well-known controversy between Mr. Kinghorn, on the one side, and the celebrated Robert Hall, on the other,†—had made its way among the members and congregation over which Mr. Birrell presided. Free or open communion sentiments were favoured by the pastor. To him, several, perhaps even a majority of the most influential members adhered. But their views were obnoxious to the greater part of the Trustees, as well as to many individuals highly respected on the score of age, and of long connexion with the Baptist body. A friendly separation of the two parties, therefore, was the result. The exceedingly neat chapel, with a Grecian portico, fronting the top of Pembroke Place, and situated at the bottom of West Derby and the corner of Crown Streets, having been erected by Mr. Birrell's friends and supporters in 1839, they removed to, and entered on the occupancy of it, either that year, or early in the following one.

Mr. James H. Thomas appears to have taken the pastoral charge of the Byrom Street church and congregation, after Mr. Birrell's secession. His ministry commenced April 27th, 1840. He remained with his flock not longer than till January 23rd, 1842.

The last-named gentleman had as his successor, Mr. William Giles.‡

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* Where the body of Dr. Stewart, of Gloucester Street and Mount Pleasant Chapels, and the bodies of many other eminent Liverpool ministers, are deposited.

† The "close communion" Baptists confine admission to the Lord's Table to those who have been immersed, on a personal profession of faith. Whereas, by their "open communion" brethren, a participation in the commemorative and eucharistic rite alluded to, is conceded to pious Paedobaptists.

‡ To be distinguished from Mr. Henry Giles, a native of Youghal, Ireland, and originally a Roman Catholic, who was minister of the Chapel, Toxteth Park, from the beginning of 1836, till 1841 or 1842. Mr. H. Giles wrote several of the discourses which were preached and published on the Unitarian side of the question, in the Controversy of 1839; and has, since resigning his charge here, been pretty extensively known as a lecturer in the United States of America.

Under his ministry, the parties assembling in Byrom Street Chapel continued, from 24th February, 1842, till 1st September, 1843. A gentleman, named Mr. John McKenzie, since deceased, is spoken of as having taken charge of the congregation, December 21, 1843. (?) The chapel was acquired by the Railway Company, above mentioned, October 2nd, 1846. In their hands, it remained for several years shut up.—To return to Mr. Giles. He became subsequently to his resignation of the pastoral office at Byrom Street, conductor of a most respectable academy at Seacombe, and a few years ago, removed thence to the city of Chester. He is, I believe, author of a well-written pamphlet, published in 1827, when he was settled in Kent, the object of which was to refute and expose "open communion"* sentiments. Perhaps, his chief claim on our notice, is the fact of his having for a considerable time directed the studies, and thereby contributed to form the mind of the celebrated Charles Dickens, author of "Sketches by Boz," "Pickwick Papers," "Nicholas Nickleby," &c. &c.

Touching the ministers of Byrom Street Chapel, since its re-purchase by Mr. Johnson, two or three years ago, I am unable to say anything.

6.—*Baptist Chapel, Hope Street;*

One of the groupe of elegant and imposing edifices, secular and religious, to which we have had occasion already, more than once, to direct the attention of the Society. It fronts Myrtle Street, looking southwards, and presents its west side to Hope Street. The style is Gothic. Elaborately, and in some respects singularly conceived and constructed it is. The origin, progress, and present state of the highly respectable congregation which worships here, we proceed briefly to state.

The appointment of Mr. Robert Davis in 1800, by the majority of the Byrom Street Church, as Mr. Medley's successor, gave rise, as we have previously hinted, to dissatisfaction, and ultimately to division, in the body. Into the merits of the dispute, which turned solely on doctrinal differences, I do not of course enter. As the result, a new church or society of Baptists, preferring a stricter adherence to the Calvinistic system of theology than their late brethren, was formed and organized.

After hearing different individuals, with a view to the settlement among them of a permanent minister, Mr. Peter Aitken, a native of Glasgow,

* "Letters to the Rev. R. Hall, A. M., containing an examination of his theory of Christian, in opposition to party communion," 8vo., pp. 66.

and trained at the University there, became at last the object of the choice of the society. This gentleman had come to England originally, in July, 1799, to supply the pulpit of a Presbyterian chapel at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in the absence of its pastor: and having extended his tour to Canterbury, for the purpose of visiting relations, had there embraced the doctrine of adult or believer's baptism, and had himself been immersed, December 5th of that year. A visit to Accrington, Lancashire, where he remained preaching for sometime, and afterwards to Liverpool, followed. The newly-formed church there heard him, and was edified by his pulpit gifts, as well as became satisfied of his eminent qualifications in other respects for the work of the ministry. Having been duly invited to assume the pastoral office, he was ordained in June, 1801. Ill health immediately supervened. A voyage to Scotland was prescribed and undertaken. On his return, he resumed his public labours, September 13th. On the 20th he preached with great energy and unction, and much to the satisfaction of his hearers. Death, however, was close at hand. A succession of discharges of blood from the lungs, so affected his frame, and reduced his strength, that he sunk under them, on the evening of the 1st October, 1801. Short, but not uninteresting, or unedifying, was this, his career. His body was interred in the graveyard of Byrom Street Chapel. A most pleasing recollection of his talents, energetic and fervent mode of preaching, piety, and amiable dispositions, has been kept up by survivors.

> Heu miserande puer——animam
> His saltem accumulem *verbis*, et fungar inani
> Munere.

Some interesting particulars respecting this excellent and promising young man—whose younger brother was my classfellow at the College of Glasgow—written by Mr. Davis, of Byrom Street, will be found recorded in the Baptist Annual Register, for 1801, pp. 689–694. In a circular to the Baptist churches, 1842, I see that he is spoken of as having been "a person of considerable learning, superior talents, and devoted piety."

The death of Mr. Aitken opened the way, after the lapse of some time, and the hearing of several candidates, for the election of Mr. James* Lister, as pastor of the society, then assembling in Church Lane. This event took place 6th June, 1803. Mr. Lister had for his *alma mater*, the University of Glasgow, of which city he was a native. His career at college is

* He has been misnamed "John," by Smithers.

said to have been a rather distinguished one. During the session * 1794–1795, when he attended the Greek class, he is said to have been a competitor with Thomas Campbell, afterwards the celebrated author of the "Pleasures of Hope," for a prize, the theme having been a poetical translation from the Greek, and in this generous rivalry to have been successful.† His ministrations in Liverpool, commenced June 22nd, 1803, and his induction into the pastoral office, took place on the 11th day of October, of that year.‡ Report says, that the attention of the Liverpool brethren was first called to Mr. Lister, in consequence of Mr. Aitken having recommended him as his successor, while lying on his death-bed. The circumstances of their having been classfellows, having been intimate, and having joined the Baptist body much about the same time, impart to the rumour extreme probability. Mr. Lister removed directly from Glasgow to Liverpool.

In the course of 1802–1803, a neat and commodious, but plain looking edifice, intended as a place of worship for the society, had been erected in Elliott Street, and Lime Street. § Not a vestige of it now remains. Improvements in the part of the town where it was situated, rendered its demolition indispensable. For the information of the curious in such matters, it may be mentioned, that it stood in Elliott Street, at the corner of Rose Street; and that its site is occupied, partly by the side-path, and partly by the houses of Elliott Street, at the bend or turning which they form, in rounding off from Rose Street towards Lime Street, and the New Haymarket. Lime Street Chapel, as it was commonly called, was opened on the 9th day of October, 1803, two days prior to Mr. Lister's induction.

The ministry of Mr. Lister was long, quiet, and harmonious. He discharged his pastoral duties conscientiously and unobtrusively. Whatever might be the reason to which his backwardness was owing, he was shy of appearing before

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* Semestre.

† Mr. Lister was originally connected with the Established Church of Scotland, with a view to the ministry in which he was educated. It was while prosecuting his academical studies, that he became a convert to the doctrine of adult baptism.

‡ His induction is spoken of as ordination in the Church Records. It may have been so. But, in that case, he was twice the subject of the imposition of hands; for, in the "Baptist Annual Register," for 1801, pp. 677–678, I find a letter from Mr. Lister himself, dated "Glasgow, November 13th, 1801," in which he gives an account of his ordination there, by Mr. James Taylor, of Paisley, a few days previously. Perhaps the rite, as then administered, was considered informal. By the way, Mr. Taylor survived Mr. Lister, having died at Glasgow in the early part of the summer of 1852, at a very advanced age.

§ From the pulpit of this chapel, I have had the honour of addressing Mr. Lister's congregation.

the public in the character of an author. Except a few occasional articles in periodicals belonging to the Baptist communion, "a sermon delivered at Rochdale, May 3rd, 1818, at a meeting of the Association of the Baptist Churches of Yorkshire and Lancashire," and "The excellence of the authorized version of the Sacred Scriptures defended against the Socinians; a sermon delivered at the monthly lecture, in Gloucester Street Chapel, Liverpool, on Wednesday evening, October 18th, 1820," I am not aware of the existence of any published productions of his pen. He removed, with his congregation, to their present beautiful and costly place of worship, in Myrtle and Hope Streets, on the 10th day of January, 1844;* resigned his situation as pastor, 5th March, 1847; officiated for some time, without any regular call, in discharging the duties of the ministry at Providence Chapel, Pleasant Street, erected by Mr. David Kent, and closed his useful, laborious, and respectable life, at Liverpool, 23rd November, 1851, when on the verge of completing the 73rd year of his age.† Sermons were preached in several of the dissenting places of worship on occasion of his death. Considering not merely his abilities and attainments, but his studious and industrious habits, we cannot help feeling regret that he has left behind him so little, in the shape of literary or theological compositions, to benefit posterity.

During a portion of Mr. Lister's ministry, from about 26 or 28, to 18 years ago especially, he received assistance in his Sunday evening services from two worthy men, whose names deserve to be had in remembrance. I allude to Mr. William Rushton, jun., and Mr. Edward Cearns, jun., both

* Soon after which, the former meeting-house in Lime and Elliott Streets, was taken down. A description of the present chapel will be found in Lacey's "Pictocial Liverpool," 1844, pp. 268–269. By the way, I have just learned, on the authority of the gentleman himself, that what, in consequence of no author's name being on the title-page, I have hitherto, with reference to the name of the publisher, quoted as "Lacey," is the production of our talented colleague, Mr. James Stonehouse. If I still continue to quote it as Lacey's, it is only for the purpose of preserving uniformity. Mr. Stonehouse has also kindly acquainted me with the extent of the obligations under which he lies to the MSS. of the late Mr. John Green Underhill. They are no doubt considerable. As respects the Baptist churches, dissenting bodies, and some other matters, the information which they contain is most valuable. But on a multitude of the topics to which Mr. Stonehouse has had occasion to advert, they do not touch at all. And so completely has Mr. Stonehouse been obliged to alter, modify, and recast Mr. Underhill's language, in order to adapt it to his purposes, that but rarely has the former used the phraseology of the latter, in his "Pictorial Liverpool." Mr. Stonehouse, however, has no wish to detract from the merit of Mr. Underhill's papers, which, in many cases where accuracy of information concerning Liverpool, Lancashire and Cheshire matters is concerned, deserve, and will requite, minute and careful examination.

† Born at Glasgow, 2nd January, 1779. He was interred at the Necropolis.

well-known to me, and both able and effective public speakers. The former gentleman, who was a cotton broker by profession, was author of a clever volume of "Letters on Particular Redemption," which was translated into the Welsh language, and had a very extensive circulation in the Principality;* and the latter was the active and energetic (let me add, successful,) partner, for many years, of the eminent and much respected firm of Cearns and Crary,† American merchants. Both were removed from this world several years ago, in middle life, with rapidly maturing experience, and while engaged in the pursuits of honourable industry, to the deep regret of numerous and admiring friends.

As successor to Mr. Lister, in the pastorate, on his resignation in 1847, the church or society assembling in Myrtle and Hope Streets, elected Mr. Hugh Stowell Brown, a native of the Isle of Man, son of the late Vicar of Kirk-Braddan, and related, not very remotely either, to the late venerable and amiable man, the Rev. Hugh Stowell, Rector of Ballaugh, and author of the "Life of Bishop Wilson;" whose son, the Rev. Canon Stowell, of Manchester, holds so high and distinguished a place among the clergymen of this district Mr. Brown abandoned the established Church to join the Baptist body, several years since. His ministrations have now extended to a period of above five years, and, besides procuring for him the increasing respect and confidence of his flock, have already, by the energy and ability which he has displayed, attracted no small share of public notice, as well as inspired the hope of great future usefulness and eminence. But a sense of delicacy forbids my enlarging in the praises of a living and youthful contemporary, who has lately been enrolled among the number of our colleagues.‡

7.—*Roman Catholic Chapel of St. Mary's.*

Exactly on the spot, between Edmund and Ormond Streets, off Old Hall Street, on which the present large and imposing structure is erected,

* Father of William Rushton, A.M., whose career at the Royal Institution School, Liverpool, University College, London, and at the University of Bonn, Germany, has been a very distinguished one, and who is already favourably known to the public as one of the two authors of a "Latin terminational Dictionary." London: January, 1850. To Mr. Rushton we are indebted for having lately placed himself in communication with our Society.

† Originally Cearns, Fish and Crary. Mr. Fish, a most respectable gentleman, rejoiced in the somewhat singular combination of names, Preserved Fish.

‡ Mr. Brown is not unknown as an author and public lecturer. Six lectures delivered by him lately on the "Puritans," and "Puritanic period," attracted considerable attention, and were listened to by large and respectable audiences.

stood a chapel, said to have been of ancient date, which was destroyed by fire, in 1745.* It was succeeded by a brick edifice, somewhat mean in its external appearance, but capable of accommodating a great number of worshippers. Concerning this, Mr. Herdman thus expresses himself:—"A second was built. This chapel was altogether surrounded by buildings—chiefly houses—and was only approachable by three gateways under these houses, namely, by one in Edmund Street, by one in Ormond Street, and by one in Bixteth Street. Views of these gateways will either accompany this or be sent to you. The second chapel was constructed, and had its entrance guarded, in the way mentioned, in order to prevent access on the part of those who were opposed to the Roman Catholic religion." I remember well this second chapel, and the gateway in Edmund Street, by which I entered it. A few years ago, this was removed, in order to make way for the present edifice. The style of this is Gothic. Large, handsome, and elegant, are epithets which every one will be disposed to apply to it. Its roof is lofty.—Three distinct ecclesiastical buildings, it will be observed from what goes before, have thus, in succession, occupied the same site.

One cannot but regret, that a structure so deserving to be looked at, as St. Mary's, should, from its location, be almost entirely huddled out of sight. It is somewhat difficult to be found out: and when discovered, its northern and southern sides can only be approached from different Streets—a considerable *detour* requiring to be made, when going from the one to the other.

St. Mary's may fairly be regarded as the mother-church of the Roman Catholics in Liverpool; at all events, since the period of the Reformation.

The Rev. Thomas Fisher, a gentleman known and highly respected for his many excellent qualities, especially for his benevolence, charity, and the assiduity and untiring energy with which he prosecuted his ecclesiastical labours, was for a very long period the presiding clergyman of the chapel.

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* See Lacey's "Pictorial Liverpool," 1844, p. 270. Mr. Herdman's version of the matter is different. In a communication politely forwarded by him to me, he says:—"With respect to the Roman Catholic Chapel of St. Mary's, I find that in 1745, a warehouse in Edmund Street was used by the body as a place of worship—this having been the first Roman Catholic Chapel in Liverpool. It was situated up a gateway, over which was the priest's house. This building was destroyed during the riots in 1759." Query 1779?

I find it mentioned in some of our local histories, that, by the constitution of St. Mary's, its religious affairs are administered by regulars, its clergy being monks of the order of St. Benedict.* Mr. Herdman says, that the first and second chapels were the property of the Jesuits, and that the latter continued in their possession until the suppression of the order, by Pope Clement XIV., Ganganelli, in 1773.

8.—*St. Anthony's, Roman Catholic.*

A building, bearing the above appellation, stood formerly at St. Anthony's Place, Mile End, Scotland Road. See Liverpool Directories for 1807 and 1810. Divine service in it was conducted for many years by the Rev. Jean Baptiste Anthony Girardot, a French emigrant priest, by whom it was erected. M. Girardot was held in high respect for his many virtues, and unostentatious mode of living; and besides, was much celebrated in this part of the country, for numerous cures performed by him in cases of dropsy, some of them said to have been of long standing. He departed this life, between twenty and thirty years ago. The chapel, if I mistake not, continued to the close of his life to be M. Girardot's private property.

Subsequently to this gentleman's death, the chapel was still applied to the purposes of divine service for a time, by the Roman Catholics. But having been abandoned as a place of worship, it is now converted into dwelling-houses and shops, catching the eye of the passenger by its small pediment, at the corner of Scotland Road and Dryden Street.

Owing to the great increase of the Roman Catholic population of Liverpool, particularly in the northern districts of the town, a larger edifice than that of M. Girardot, was found to be needed for their accommodation. Accordingly, subscriptions having been procured, the present St. Anthony's situated also in Scotland Road, a little way to the north of the former, was erected in 1833. It was opened towards the end of September, of that year, with great pomp and imposing ceremonies. A very interesting account was given on that occasion, by one of the clergymen present, of the building of the previous St. Anthony's, of Monsieur Girardot, its respected founder and chaplain, and of the circumstances in which the

* In Moss' "History of Liverpool," 1795, p. 154, and in the earlier Liverpool Directories, St. Mary's Chapel is uniformily spoken of as the Roman Catholic Chapel, "Lumber Street," or "Lombard Street." This last-named Street lies close to it,—much encroached on by the embankment of the Railway,—to the East.

edifice then entered into had originated.* M. Girardot's body had been the only one deposited in the old chapel. On occasion of its being relinquished for the newly-erected structure, a removal of that gentleman's remains, if I am not misinformed, to the large and commodious vaults under the latter, took place. In the present St. Anthony's, about 1838, or 1839, I heard the late celebrated Father Thomas Maguire, the controversial antagonist of Messrs. Pope and Gregg, deliver a very clever lecture in defence of the Roman Catholic doctrine of Transubstantiation, to a large and attentive auditory.

9.—*Salem Chapel, otherwise St. Clement's, Russell Street,*

Situated two houses from Bronte Street, (continuation of Dansie Street,) and nearly opposite to Warren Street, is one of the neatest places of worship in Liverpool.

To say by what sect of religionists this chapel has not, at some time or other, been occupied, would be somewhat puzzling, in consequence of the numerous metamorphoses which the worshippers at it have undergone. The best way of doing, under such circumstances, is briefly to sketch its history.

Unpleasant disclosures having terminated, in 1808, in the removal of Mr. John Ralph, from the pastorship of the Independent church, or society, assembling in Bethesda Chapel, Hotham Street, (then Duncan Street East,) his friends and supporters satisfied of his penitence, and considering him to have been harshly treated, built and opened Salem Chapel, Russell Street, the edifice in question.† He then took the pastoral charge, and continued to officiate to his followers for a brief period of time. Circumstances, to which a particular reference is unnecessary, led to a termination of his Liverpool career. He removed to Wigan, about 1811, became minister of Hope Chapel, there, and died in 1821. His pulpit talents, I have been informed, were of a very superior order. His dispositions it is said were amiable, and his sentiments, strictly Calvinistic. We must be careful not to confound this gentleman, with Hugh Ralph, LL.D., who was from 1824 till 1842, minister of Oldham Street Kirk, and who now, after having been for some years incumbent at Aberdour, has charge of the parish of Dalgety, in the County of Fife.

Considerable alterations of Salem Chapel followed, on the departure of

* See "Liverpool Mercury," 6th October, 1833. † About 1809.

Mr. Ralph.* Its very name was changed. Thenceforward it was for years known as St. Clement's Church.† Under the ministry of Mr. Thomas Pearson, who is called "Robert" in Lacey's "Pictorial Liverpool," by whom it was purchased, there was also an increase of the ceremonial observed in the conducting of public worship. Mr. Pearson, who had once been an auctioneer in good practice in Liverpool, had previously to his removal to Russell Street, officiated from the month of May, 1807, in the chapel, Cockspur Street, which, in his hands, acquired the denomination of St. Andrew's Church.‡ He presided over the worship of the congregation in Russell Street, from 1812, till 1816 or 1817, when, according to Lacey, he died.§ The Rev. H. T. Turner, however, has been good enough to inform me, that he left Liverpool to settle in Preston; and that many years afterwards he finished his earthly career in Cornwall. A daughter of his communicated these facts to Mr. Turner.

Almost immediately after the death or departure of Mr. Pearson, there took place in connexion with this chapel in Russell Street, what, by one of the authorities just referred to,‖ is pronounced to have been "a series of the most artful schemes of swindling on record in Liverpool." Preferring to give the language of the apparently well-informed writer of the "Pictorial Liverpool" to any statements of my own, I quote literally as follows: "A person of genteel address, calling himself the Rev. Thomas Stretton, A.M., entered into a treaty with the owners" (of "Salem," *alias* St. Clement's,) "bought the church, and had it decorated in a most elegant style: the fine painted window, the neat porticos at the doors, and the organ, were added by him; the pews were lined throughout, two vestries built, and a variety of other embellishments" [introduced.] "These improvements the reverend gentleman did not immediately pay for; and still farther, he never intended to pay for them. Attended by his lady, he visited the principal shops in town, ordered articles, and had them sent to his home: but still the cash was not forthcoming. No doubt, however, could be entertained

* By some parties, I have been informed, that on Mr. Ralph's resignation, Mr. Macpherson, afterwards to be more particularly mentioned, preached for some time to the society of Independents which assembled here.

† In the Liverpool Directories for 1813 and 1816, it is enumerated among the churches belonging to the Establishment.

‡ See facts connected with the opening of Cockspur Street Chapel, as St. Andrew's Church, by Mr. Pearson, given in detail by Troughton, in his History, 1810.

§ "Pictorial Liverpool," 1844, p. 270. ‖ Lacey.

by the credulous tradesmen, as to their sable-dressed customer being *bonâ fide* a parson; for each successive Sabbath, the Rev. Thomas Stretton, arrayed in a fine black gown, and with the gravity of a judge, discoursed, in impressive strains, to his numerous auditors at St. Clement's. Things went on in this manner for some time—the priest and his lady still indulging themselves extravagantly in jewels, dresses, &c., partly paying, but leaving by far the greater part unpaid for. But a dire and unforeseen mischance stayed the career of the worthy clergyman. Walking down Church Street, one day, he was met by a young lady, who happened to know more about him than he could wish to be made public; and concluding a discovery inevitable, he suddenly quitted the town, leaving his debts as a memento of his career."* "Pictorial Liverpool," 1844, pp. 271–272. Thus it appears, that there are good and substantial reasons, why the name of the successor of Mr. Pearson, should still live in the recollection of some of the older inhabitants of the town, and why the feelings associated by them with St. Clement's should not be of the most agreeable description. By the way, the editor of Lacey's work omits to mention that Mr. Stretton, during his incumbency, introduced the choral, or rather cathedral service of the Establishment into his church—ten or twelve persons attired in the full costume of choristers, who were in attendance each Lord's day, to chaunt the psalms and responses, having constituted no small addition to the other attractions of this person's ministry. One gentleman has informed me, that his gown or train was, when he entered, held up by pages. He is said to have been in reality a dancing master.

A very amiable and highly respected young gentleman, named Crookenden, has been mentioned to me as having for a short time afterwards, about 1818, been minister of Salem, or St. Clement's. It was stated by my informant that he was cut off by consumption. Can this have been the "Rev. William Henry Crookenden," whom I see set down in the "Liverpool Directory," for 1818, as curate to Mr. Banister, at All Saints? †

The removal of Mr. Crookenden was followed by the passing of St. Clement's Church into the hands of the body connected with the late

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* I have heard the "memento" estimated at £2500, or £2600.

† Mr. Turner (Rev. H. T.) thinks, that Mr. Crookenden did officiate in Salem, about 1818 or 1819. Although for some time assistant to Mr. Banister, Mr. Turner doubts if Mr. C. was ever ordained. A somewhat different account of matters will be found in next article.

Countess of Huntingdon. Mr. James Widdows, one of that body, was appointed minister in 1819 or 1820. This gentleman, along with his congregation, at a subsequent period, joined the Independents. Until about 1828, he continued to officiate in Russell Street, in a manner very creditable to himself, and acceptable to his people. His settlement at the chapel, Gloucester Street, which stood on the site of the present St. Simon's, after the opening of the United Secession Chapel, Great Orford Street and Mount Pleasant, of course rendered the pulpit formerly occupied by him vacant. *

A respectable congregation of Baptists, in 1828, or 1829, took temporary possession of Salem Chapel. Their occupancy of it did not embrace a period of more than between three and four years. Concerning the history of the building, while in their possession, I must plead ignorance. The only fact remembered by me is, that while occupied by them, I once, by special request, appeared in its pulpit.

At page 66, of the "Primitive Episcopal Church Magazine" for April, 1832, occurs the following paragraph:—"CONSECRATION OF ST. CLEMENT'S CHURCH, RUSSELL STREET, LIVERPOOL. On Friday, 30th ultimo," March, "this ceremony was performed by the Right Rev. G. M. West. At eleven o'clock, the bishop, attended by several clergymen, performed the service in a most impressive and solemn manner. The prayers were read by the Rev.————, after which an appropriate sermon was preached by the bishop, from Psalm lxxxiv., 4: '*Blessed are they that dwell in thy house; they will be still praising thee*'—during which the audience were deeply affected, even to tears." A gentleman, the account goes on to say, was on this occasion admitted by Bishop West to Deacon's, and subsequently to Priest's orders.

Dr. Washington Stuart, one of the parties who had previously been ordained by Mr. West, became minister of the chapel, [church ?) after its consecration, and continued to perform divine service there for some months, using, I presume, the altered liturgy of the "Primitive Episcopal Church."†

Towards the close of 1832, the edifice of which we are now speaking, came

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* Mr. Widdows, who was much respected, became afterwards—about 1838—pastor of an Independent Church, at Rainford.

† *Vid. antea*, under the head of "All Saints" Church.

into the hands of a body of Scotch dissenters, belonging to the then United Secession Church. The individuals composing it had for some time before assembled for devotional purposes in the large room in Pilgrim Street, near Hardman Street.* They had left the ministry of Dr. Stewart, at Mount Pleasant Chapel, on the ground of objecting to the use of Watts' Psalms, Hymns, and Paraphrases in public worship. Mr. Samuel Spence became their pastor. His clever "sermon on the privilege and duty of British dissenters, preached in Russell Street Church, Friday, December 6, 1833,—Liverpool, Marples and Co., 1834," is now lying before me. On the departure of Mr. Spence to Dundee, in 1838, the Liverpool Society over which he had presided for several years, was dissolved.†

Antaeus-like, after scarcely an interval of suspended animation, Russell Street Chapel again rose with fresh vigour from the ground. Another sect, however, was now its occupant. Divine service was resumed in it in October, 1838, by the followers of Baron Swedenborg, commonly known as the New Jerusalem Church. Mr. Noble, of London, and Mr. Smithson, of Manchester, officiated at the opening. Under the successive ministries of Mr. Thomas Chalklin, and Mr. John Cull, as well as by means of the assistance of missionaries belonging to the denomination, the doctrines of the body just mentioned have been proclaimed in this place until very recently. Pecuniary difficulties, however, arising out of the attendance of a very limited congregation, and other causes, have caused the chapel to be for some time in the market for sale. At length, in the autumn of 1852, after an occupation by the followers of Swedenborg, of 14 years' continuance, the building has passed into the possession of the Association, or Warrenite Methodists.‡

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* Used as a Lecture Room, (there I heard Dr. Spurzheim deliver his twelve lectures on Phrenology, in 1829,) as a Dancing Academy, and now as a Jewish Synagogue.

† It struggled for existence, I believe for a year or two after Mr. Spence left it. But its efforts to sustain itself were unsuccessful. The majority of its members were reunited to their old connexion. Sadly unpleasant feelings between it and the Mount Pleasant congregation marked its brief career.

‡ It seems that Baron Swedenborg's followers took Key Street Chapel, afterwards St. Matthew's Church, in 1791, on occasion of Mr. Yates and his Congregation quitting it for Paradise Street Chapel. By the Swedenborgians, Key Street Chapel was given up in 1794, or early in 1795, almost immediately after which its sale to the Church of England ensued. From 1794 or 1795, until 1815, the members of the New Jerusalem Church worshipped, either in private houses, or in a room in Marble Street near Queen Square, the latter, for thirteen or fourteen years of the period in question, having been their place of meeting. By the way, the body of Swedenbergians who worshipped until lately in Russell Street, is now assembling for devotional purposes in the Concert Hall, Lord Nelson Street, and having acquired a vacant piece of ground in Bedford Street,

10.—*Cockspur Street Chapel, for some time St. Andrew's Church.**

I regret exceedingly that it is out of my power to treat of this building, and of its numerous changes of appearance and congregations, until the period of its final extinction, with the same minuteness and accuracy of detail, as circumstances have enabled me to indulge in with regard to that which immediately precedes. The following, upon the whole copious enough, is all the information which I can give respecting Cockspur Street Chapel, and its chameleon-like transformations.

Any one desirous to make himself personally acquainted with its locality, will find it on the right hand side of Cockspur Street, going from Vauxhall Road to Pownall Square. A single house, indeed, is all that intervenes between its former site and Vauxhall Road. Strangers will at once recognize it, by means of the words, "Chapel Buildings, 1839," cut in stone, above the entrance to a small court; the shops on each side, with the houses above, and the court behind, occupying the spot where the edifice in question once stood.†

Originally here was the cockpit of Liverpool.‡ At what period it was constructed, I am unable to say. Neither can I inform my colleagues when it was first used as a place of worship, or by what sect of professing Christians it was first occupied.

What I have ascertained is, that in this edifice—whether then converted into a chapel, or still applied to sporting purposes, I cannot tell—during a few weeks of the summer of 1792, the congregation connected with the established Church of Scotland, at that time recently formed, which was afterwards permanently located in Oldham Street Kirk, worshipped under the ministry of Mr. Kirkpatrick.§ Finding the distance from the centre of the town too great, and encountering some other inconveniences, they

Abercromby Square, it is intended by the members to erect a new Chapel as soon as possible thereon.

* A name given many years afterwards by the late Sir John Gladstone to his church in Renshaw Street, and applied also by some Scotch people to the Rodney Street Kirk.

† See Gage's map, 1835.

‡ An anecdote related concerning one of the well known frequenters of the Liverpool Cockpit, while it existed, may amuse some of my readers. While young Spencer was at the height of his popularity and usefulness at Newington Chapel, in 1810–11, Dr.—— was asked what he thought of him? "The best cock that the Liverpool Dissenters have ever yet pitted against the Devil, I fancy," was his prompt, but somewhat profane reply.—The Cockpit, on the margin of Aintree Race-course, now a temporary chapel-of-ease to the parishes of Sefton and Walton, is called St. *Peter's*.

§ Probably the reason why Cockspur Street Chapel was subsequently for a time called St. Andrews. St. Andrew is the patron Saint of Scotland.

speedily abandoned it, to occupy a room in School Lane, close to St. Peter's Church, where they remained till the opening of the Kirk, in 1793.*

Whether the building thus left vacant by the departure of the Scottish Presbyterians came immediately into the possession of any other class of religionists, is a matter as to which I must confess myself ignorant. No satisfactory response have I been able to obtain to numerous queries propounded by me at different times, and to different individuals. I suspect that some one or other of the various sub-divisions of Methodists, did occasionally hold meetings for public worship there. The Directories of 1790–1800, however, which are entirely silent as to the building, afford us no clue to a solution.

Light first breaks in upon us, soon after the commencement of the present century.

Mr. James Macpherson, with a congregation of Independents, to whom he stood in the relation of pastor, had possession of Cockspur Street Chapel, in 1803, as appears from the Liverpool Directory of that date, and as is known to me on other authority. My impression is, that Mr. Macpherson was officiating in this building, a year or two earlier than the time just indicated, if not even as far back as the close of 1800. Here the minister, and such of his flock as still adhered to him, continned to meet for divine service till towards the end of 1806, or beginning of 1807. The gentleman of whom we are speaking, has been represented to me as having possessed considerable talents, and is well-known to have been at one time exceedingly popular, among persons holding strict, or as some would say, high Calvinistic sentiments. His name will occur again in connexion with the formation of the church which afterwards assembled for public worship in Bethesda Chapel.

Troughton, by means of information supplied in his "History of Liverpool," 1810, p. 485, enables us to carry on the narrative, from the period of Mr. Macpherson's departure. According to the authority just named, we learn that Cockspur Street Chapel, then assuming the appellation of St. Andrew's Church, was, after having been temporarily closed, re-opened for public worship, with considerable pomp and ceremony, on Trinity Sunday, May 24, 1807, "by the Rev. Thomas† Pearson," its minister. Of this gentleman, we have had occasion to speak in the immediately preceding

* See Vol. ii. of our Transactions, p. 70. † Called Robert in Lacey.

article. Whether or not he was a regularly ordained clergyman of the Church of England, I am incompetent to say—I rather think not *—but by him, at any rate, the robes of a clergyman were worn, the liturgy read, and the prescribed routine duly gone through. Mr. Pearson's removal to St. Clement's, (Salem Chapel, Russell Street,) about 1811, or 1812, his resignation of his charge there, 1816, and his subsequent wanderings and death, will be found to have been previously put upon record. Before passing on, however, it may be proper to mention, that owing to Mr. Pearson's popularity, Cockspur Street Chapel (*alias* St. Andrew's Church,) having proved to be too small, and exceedingly incommodious, was closed soon after the commencement of his incumbency in 1807, in order to its undergoing enlargement, as well as repairs. Divine service was not resumed until the 24th day of April, 1808.

To Mr. R. G. Sheldon, I am indebted for the information that from 1811, or 1812, till 1815, or at least during the greater part of that time, Cockspur Street Chapel was occupied by a body of Kilhamites, or New Connexion Methodists.

Subsequently, that is, in 1815, the building came into the hands of the Swedenborgians. Mr. Samuel Walter, nephew of Mr. Lewin, assisted from time to time by Mr. Leadbetter, officiated two or three years as their pastor. Their occupation of the chapel terminated in 1819.† Prior to

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* He at all events, was included under that comprehensive category, "persons in holy orders or pretended holy orders, or pretending to holy orders," so often occurring in Acts of Parliament.

† After leaving Cockspur Street the followers of Baron Swedenborg entered on an occupancy of Maguire Street Chapel, which terminated in 1823, the Primitive Methodists, during the latter part of that time having worshipped in the Chapel, early in the morning, and in the evening.

The migrations and temporary locations of the New Jerusalem body from 1823 till 1838, I am unable to state with accuracy. If I mistake not, a portion of them worshipped, during a part of that time, in a small chapel, or school-house, in Bevington Bush, not far from its junction with Old Scotland Road and Edgar Street. Private houses or school-rooms, I presume, accommodated the rest. Russell Street Chapel, (successively Salem and St. Clement's Church,) was, as we have seen, their chief, but not exclusive place of rendezvous, from 1838 till 1852. Mr. Sheldon, I have reason to think, all along during that time performed the offices of religion, to a small portion of the body, who had their residence in the Northern districts of the town.

Mr. Sheldon, to his other favours, has added that of informing me, that the friends to whom he has so long officiated, in February, 1842, opened as a place of worship for "The New Christian Church," or Swedenborgians, a small building in Rose Place, not far from St. Ann's Church, which for many years had been used as a boarding and day-school, and which, in 1841, had been converted into a Temperance Hall, Divine Service having, at the same time, been begun, and for several Lord's days continued, by local preachers of the Methodist persuasion. They, of course, abandoned it, when it came

that time, Mr. Walters' ministry had been discontinued. A gentleman named Bristow, previously a Unitarian minister, and who, after professing to be a convert to the New Jerusalem doctrines, subsequently joined the Trinitarians, gave the Swedenborgians the benefit of his pulpit services, during three months of the year 1819.

The Mr. Crookenden, spoken of under the preceding head, who had for some time been curate, or assistant, to Mr. Banister, after the abandonment of Cockspur Street Chapel by the New Jerusalemites in 1819, immediately took possession of it, along with a small body of persons, who, with himself, had withdrawn from Mr. Banister's ministry, on Independent principles, and had placed themselves under his, Mr. Crookenden's, pastoral care. For the knowledge of this fact, I confess myself indebted to Mr. Sheldon. My informant, however, cannot be certain, whether or not Mr. Crookenden was for a short time in Russell Street Chapel. Nor is he quite sure as to the time when the brief ministry of the gentleman to whom we are referring was terminated by his death. He thinks that the event took place in 1821, or 1822. My suspicion is, that it occurred towards the end of 1820, or early in 1821, as I do not find his name in the chapel part of the Directory of the year last named; and as the chapel, Cockspur Street, although placed in the list of Independent chapels by that Directory, has a blank opposite to the word "minister."

Mr. John Underhill, and a congregation of Baptists, who adhered to him as their pastor, having left the Baptist chapel, on the south side of Great Crosshall Street, is said to have entered upon the occupancy of Cockspur Street Chapel, in 1821, or 1822. As the father of Mr. John Green Underhill, a youth of great promise, early removed by death, whose industry and accuracy in compiling facts respecting the religious bodies of Liverpool are deserving of all praise, and have been of service to the editor of Lacey,*

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into the possession of the New Jerusalemites. Over these, Mr. Sheldon continued to preside. During the week, however, it was still used as a school house, and for other purposes.

This building, after having been for a time closed, made to undergo thorough repairs, and fitted with seats and pews, was re-opened exclusively as a place of worship, to be used by the Swedenborgian body, by Messrs. Kenworthy and Sheldon, January 28th, 1849. Mr. Sheldon is pastor, and continues to officiate as he has done all along, gratuitously. The Chapel is neat and comfortable, but so small as to be incapable of accomodating more than 100 persons. Mr. Sheldon and his flock are in full and recognised connexion with the general conference of the New Jerusalem Church.

* Acknowledged by Mr. Stonehouse, in his preface to Lacey's "Pictorial Liverpool," 1844. By mistake he calls the party in question Underwood.

as well as on account of his own great excellence of character, Mr. Underhill is not undeserving of notice at our hands. He is, (for he still lives at a very advanced age,) a native of the neighbourhood of Birmingham, and came to Liverpool about the year 1818. From Cockspur Street Chapel, he went with his flock, about 1824, to the small Baptist Chapel, Sidney Place, Edgehill, where he officiated for several years. It was on September 4th, in the year 1831, while still officiating at Edgehill, that he published his sermon, entitled, "The good man, and the evil considered," preached at the chapel, Sidney Place. Advancing age having compelled his resignation of the pastoral office, he continued to reside in London Road, Liverpool, until 1852, when he removed to Manchester.

For a short time—perhaps for a year, year and a half, or two years—subsequently to the departure of Mr. Underhill and his congregation about 1824, Cockspur Street Chapel was in the occupation of the Primitive Methodists. This fact we learn from a short and well-written history of Liverpool, which is prefixed to a Directory of the town, apparently not Gore's, published in 1825.*

About 1826, or 1827, Mr. Moses Fisher, who with his flock, had been located in Oil Street, after his demission of his charge in Byrom Street, 1824, removed to Cockspur Street Chapel. His ministry there extended to 1835, when he entered upon possession of Soho Street Chapel, which, on the foundation stone of *Bishop* West's intended cathedral, had been erected for him.†

Again, a change in the occupants of Cockspur Street Chapel took place. The "Christian Society," a species of Methodists, became its temporary possessors. Mr. Newcome is mentioned in one of the Liverpool Directories, that for 1837, as having for a time, at least, taken the pastoral over-

* "The chapel in Cockspur Street is now occupied by Primitive Methodists, who have the use, on Sunday evenings, of the chapel belonging to the Swedenborgians, in Maguire Street." History of Liverpool, prefixed to the Directory, 1825, p. 171. The Swedenborgians, who did for some time grant to the Primitive Methodists the use of their chapel in Maguire Street, for early morning, and for evening service, abandoned the chapel to them altogether in 1823. This fact, known to me on good authority, renders somewhat problematical the account of Mr. Underhill having ever discharged the duties of a pastor in Cockspur Street Chapel, and impresses me with a suspicion that the Primitive Methodists immediately succeeded Mr. Crookenden and his party. I may be wrong, however. Mr. Underhill, I remember going to Sidney Place Chapel, Edgehill, in 1824.

† Having closed his earthly career in January, 1840, Mr. Fisher has had for two of his successors in Soho Street, Mr. Richard B. Lancaster, from 1840 till 1849, and Mr. R. J. Stent, for perhaps a couple of years afterwards.

sight of the congregation which assembled there. Of the "Christian Society," it will be recollected, that we have already had occasion to treat, under the head of St. John the Evangelist's Church. During their stay here, Messrs. Aitken and Bowes frequently preached to them. Circumstances, however, compelled its relinquishment, in 1838, or 1839.

Immediately afterwards, the demolition of this chapel followed. Houses and shops, as already mentioned, now occupy its site.

11.—*Maguire Street Chapel*

Was erected about the year 1795, by a gentleman named Mayers, of Swedenborgian or New Jerusalem sentiments, with a view to the accommodation of his co-religionists, on their abandonment of Key Street Chapel, (old St. Matthew's.) It is a plain structure, of small dimensions, capable of seating not more than 250 or 300 hearers. There are houses and shops below and on each side of it, which have constituted from the first a portion of the building. The bankruptcy of Mr. Mayers—who lived close to the canal, in the immediate neighbourhood—just as the chapel was being completed, and the sale of it, along with his other property, by his creditors, prevented its being used, at least at the time, for the purpose originally contemplated.

A body of Methodists, who afterwards joined Mr. Alexander Kilham, on occasion of his seceding from the Wesleyan Conference, in 1797, and co-operated with him in forming the "New Connexion," * sometime in the course of the preceding year, took possession of the chapel. Their occupancy of it seems to have continued till the year 1800.

Mr. Macpherson, and his newly-organized society of Independents, are said to have then used it as a place of worship, for a year or two.

Between 1802 and 1817, I am unable to specify, in exact order of succession, the various religious sects which occupied Maguire Street Chapel. Information, however, upon which I think I may rely, has satisfied me, that during the interval mentioned, it was at different times, and for different periods, employed for devotional purposes, by Welsh Arminian Methodists, Welsh Calvinistic Methodists, and Welsh Baptists.

In 1817, it came into the hands of a small body of Unitarians, presided over by Mr. T. S. Bristow. This gentleman having adopted, and tempo-

* Who protest against what they conceive to be the undue, because exclusive preponderance of the clerical element, in the Old Wesleyan body.

rarily professed Swedenborgian views, his small flock left the building, and became dispersed in 1819.

The Swedenborgians, quitting Cockspur Street in 1819, entered immediately on possesion of Maguire Street Chapel. Missionaries from their Conference, after Mr. Bristow's defection, officiated to them.

Into the hands of the Primitive Methodists, the building came in 1823, and has been occupied by them ever since. Several months before their taking entire possession of it, the New Jerusalem folks had kindly allowed them to worship within its walls, early in the mornings, and on the evenings of the Lord's day.

12.—*Crescent or Everton Chapel.* (*Independent.*)

For many particulars respecting the congregation which now worships in this large and handsome edifice, I confess myself indebted to our talented colleague, Mr. W. G. Herdman.

About the year 1800, certain respectable individuals, sitting under the ministry of Mr. Banister, at All Saints,* having become dissatisfied on grounds which it is needless to specify, withdrew, and agreed to form themselves into a society or church, holding in the main Calvinistic principles, and having for its grand object mutual edification. These persons assembled for a short time in a room in Shaw's Brow, and afterwards took temporary possession of the small chapel in Maguire Street, off Vauxhall Road.

During this period, the society was under the pastoral care of Mr. James Macpherson, more than once already referred to.

The chapel in Duncan Street East, now Hotham Street, called Bethesda, situated between Bridport and Lord Nelson Streets, having been erected by subscription, the congregation entered on possession of it in 1802. So limited were their numbers and means at that time, that it was not until after the lapse of a considerable interval, they were able to put up a gallery.

Mr. Macpherson having, for some reason or other, lost the confidence of

* Mr. Herdman has obligingly supplied me with the names of some of them:—Messrs. Barton Haigh, William Merryman, Peter Robinson, Hill Wilson, and Robert Innes. May I be permitted to add to these, as having either then, or at a subsequent period, joined the church, the respected names of Messrs. James Leckie, Thomas Bagot, and John Wilkinson?

the society, Mr. John Ralph, about the period of the removal to Bethesda, was chosen to preside over it in holy things. Probably at, or about the same time, Mr. Macpherson, with his adherents, commenced the occupation of Cockspnr Street Chapel.

The ministry of Mr. Ralph terminated in consequence of certain painful disclosures, in 1808—the statement previously made as to himself, and his subsequent career, superseding the necessity of any further remarks.

Immediately, or at all events not very long after the removal of Mr. Ralph, Mr. Peter Samuel Charrier, then pastor of the Independent Church at Lancaster, became the object of the choice of the Bethesda Society.

Concerning this gentleman, who was, like his predecessor, a strict Calvinist, we might, were eulogy our object, speak most favourably. He was either a native of France, or if not, was born at Portsmouth, of French Huguenot parentage. Till the close of his life, his extraction was apparent in the polished and ceremonious courtesy of his manners, his peculiarly stiff although gentlemanlike gait, and the natural irascibility of his temper. Mr. Charrier was a man endowed with excellent talents, and of the highest respectability of character. Under his ministry, the church and congregation at Bethesda flourished. After spending nearly eighteen years, quietly, unobtrusively and usefully among his people, he was carried off, rather suddenly, either in 1825, or 1826. His body was conveyed for interment to Lancaster. A large cortege of attached and sorrowing friends, some on foot, and others in carriages, accompanied it for some distance from town.*

Some time elapsed, after Mr Charrier's decease, before Mr. John Kelly, the present minister, was elected to supply his place.

The society having sold Bethesda to the body of Kilhamites, or New Connexion Methodists, who had previously occupied Zion Chapel, now the Fish Hall, near St. John's Market, removed in 1833, with their pastor, to the Crescent Chapel, Everton.

To make respectable living individuals the subjects of fulsome commendation would, I have felt, be wrong in itself, and insulting to them. A passing remark or two, therefore, with respect to the present pastor of the Independent church of which we are speaking, is all that I will venture to submit. Mr. Kelly's high standing in Liverpool dissenting society, is well

* Mr. Charrier is said to have indulged occasionally in poetical composition. One piece, of some length, published anonymously, I have heard ascribed to him.

known. George Gilfillan, in "Hogg's Edinburgh Instructor," for September 11th, 1847, when giving his reminiscences of his first tour in England, has taken occasion to place on record his high estimate, both of him, and of his respectable congregation.* Mr. Kelly, several years ago, published a clever pamphlet, of considerable length, animadverting on the connexion between Church and State, during the time that the Voluntary controversy was raging. Its title, I am just now unable to supply.

13.—*Wesleyan Methodist Chapel, Pitt Street.*

This chapel occupies the site, on which stood the first one erected in Liverpool, by the highly respectable and influential body to which it belongs. Having been found to be small, inconvenient, and ill adapted to the growing wants of the community, the original structure was, forty or fifty years since, pulled down, and replaced by the larger edifice which now meets the eye. It stands between Greetham and Forrest Streets, on the right hand going from the Custom House, southwards.

In the former building, Mr. Wesley preached several times. Especial mention is made in our local histories, of his having been in Liverpool in March, 1758, when he spoke to attentive and deeply interested audiences, in Pitt Street Chapel, twice a day for a whole week. His work on "Original sin," he then advertised in the Liverpool papers. From this town, March 31st,† he sailed to Dublin.‡ How astonishing and indefatigable the

* Mr. Gilfillan's words are too remarkable, and the manner in which he expresses himself concerning both pastor and people too discriminating, to justify me in passing them over. "Very different," from that of a Church Clergyman of whom he had been speaking, "and yet excellent in its way, is the preaching of Mr. Kelly, the Independent. His is a decided specimen of the Scottish School. It is able, clear, critical, and searching, but without ease, and without imagination. Mr. K. is a robust, middle-sized, middle-aged person, preaches to a respectable but thin audience, and stands deservedly high in his body. We were struck with the intellectual aspect of his congregation. Large heads and fore-heads, brows knitted in profound attention, eyes fixed with piercing glance upon the speaker, and hands ever ready to turn up the scriptures at his quotations, gave us the assurance of a body of men, not of fashionable fribbles, or weak-minded enthusiasts. It seemed such an assembly as Hall would have wished to address; and we are morally certain that it could not have been in this chapel, where, according to his own statement, when in Liverpool, he 'preached like a pig, to a parcel of pigs.' There was much in Mr. Kelly, and in his audience, to remind us of Dr. Russell, of Dundee, though *he* is more conversational and practical in his style of preaching."

† 1758.

‡ George Whitfield, not so much the rival, as the friend and coadjutor, of Wesley, on two occasions at least honoured Liverpool with his presence and public discourses. One of his visits is particularly noticed by the Rev. John Newton, some time curate at Olney, Bucks, and afterwards Rector of St. Mary's Woolnoth, London, in letters written by him soon after his appointment as one of the two tide surveyors of the Port of Liverpool—a situation for which he was indebted to the kindness and influence of his friend

labours of this eminent man! Pitt Street chapel, besides the services of the great founder of Methodism, has enjoyed, from time to time, those of almost every person of distinction connected with the Wesleyan body. Mr., now Dr. Newton, I once heard preach in it, (in its present form,) a very eloquent, powerful, and impressive discourse. Nor can I forget the pleasure with which, some twelve or fourteen years ago, I listened to a beautiful address from the lips of James Montgomery, Esq., of Sheffield, author of the "Wanderer of Switzerland," "World before the Flood," &c., delivered at a missionary meeting, held within its walls.

Interesting must this chapel be, on a great variety of grounds, to those to whom the cause of Wesleyan Methodism is dear, and who have taken any pleasure in tracing its rise and progress in this and other large towns.

14.—*The Wesleyan Methodist Chapel, Leeds Street,*

One of the older chapels in connexion with this body—opened about 1798—was situated on a portion of the space now occupied as a yard for flags, or paving stones, at the corner of Leeds and Plumbe Streets. The remainder of the space was a burial ground attached to the chapel, where

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Mr. Manesty. See the fourth volume of his "Works," Aberdeen, George King; London, Whittaker, Treacher and Co., 1833, pp. 101–104. Our information is derived from his "Letters to a Wife."

The visit referred to occurred in the year 1755. During nearly a whole week, from 10th to 15th September, Mr. Whitfield preached here frequently. Mr. Newton heard him nine times. Where, however, this extraordinary man officiated, I have not been able to discover. Was it in the fields, and *sub dio*, as was so common with him, that he delivered his spirit-stirring and conscience-affecting harangues? Newton seems to have watched his every action with intense and affectionate interest, and to have spent as much time as possible in his private society. Not particularly complimentary to the religious character of the Liverpool people, is the observation which Newton represents him to have made:—"We shall try to keep him till Monday; though he says, he never was in a place where he had so little encouragament to stay as here." Philip, in his "Life and Times of Whitfield," 1837, passes over the tour of this eminent man, in our part of the country, in 1755, with the brief observation, that wherever he went, he carried the prospect of the then approaching French war with him, "like his shadow, through Yorkshire and Lancashire," p. 448. The same author, speaking of a previous visit of Whitfield to this town, in 1753, says—"He fared better at Liverpool. There another convert, won by his printed sermons, met him on landing, took him home, and convened great numbers to hear him." Life and Times of Whitfield, p. 414. Who was this convert? It is annoying to be thus tantalized. The visit just spoken of was the first which Whitfield paid to our town, and was an exceedingly brief one. Newton's words, when referring to it, September 16, 1755, p. 102, are, "Having never been here before but one night, he was not known or regarded by the fashionable folks, though several of them went to hear them." Some years before 1753, it appears that Whitfield visited Manchester, but did not extend his tour to Liverpool. Had I been able to procure a sight of Gillies' Life of Whitfield, which I perused above 39 years ago, I might, perhaps, have gleaned some additional particulars respecting the preaching of this wonderful man in our locality.

numerous interments took place—the chapel itself having stood back a little way from both the Streets just named. Its exact locality is indicated in Gage's map of Liverpool, 1835. And the traveller, coming from Southport, or Yorkshire, by the railway, may, if he sit close to any of the windows on the east side of the carriages, and happen to look down at the proper spot, rapidly but accurately trace the whole area, which the chapel and its graveyard once occupied.

Like many other buildings, Leeds Street Chapel has for the last fourteen or fifteen years been numbered with "the things that were." The edifice itself was removed, and the bodies which had been interred within its precincts, found another, and it is hoped, a more permanent resting place.

15.—*Chapel, Sir Thomas' Buildings.*

A person walking along from Dale Street to Whitechapel, by Sir Thomas' [Johnson's] Buildings, might easily pass the chapel just named without notice; only one end or gable of it reaching to the Street, and houses on each side coming up close to it. Its position is on the right hand, seven or eight houses from Dale Street, and it is entered by means of a narrow passage. It was, I presume, erected between 1780 and 1790.

We find it mentioned among the Roman Catholic places of worship, in the Directories, from 1790 till 1813, the Rev. John Price being represented as its officiating clergyman.

Since the time last specified, it has been occupied by various religious sects. Between 1818 and 1821, it seems to have been in the possession of a body of Baptists, under the pastoral care of Mr. J Shooeller. Independents, if I am not mistaken, were the next who worshipped in it.* The Rev. H. S. Joseph, a converted Jew, afterwards chaplain at the Workhouse, and now holding a similar situation in Chester Castle, preached to a Hebrew church of Christian Israelites, in the chapel, Sir Thomas' Buildings, from 1831, till about 1835, or 1836. It was during this period, February, 1832, that the edifice was consecrated by *Bishops* Mathews and West.† Mr. Joseph, who is a truly respectable man, has, since that time, been admitted to deacon's and priest's orders, in the Church of England. After Mr. Joseph's leaving Sir Thomas' Buildings Chapel, to become chaplain at the

* I remember well my having, on one occasion, in 1824 or 1825, addressed a congregation from its pulpit.

† See *antea*, part 1, under "All Saints."

Workhouse, the Rev. John R. Conor, and a congregation connected with the Church of England, proceeded to occupy it. It was opened by licence from the Bishop of the Diocese, and for a time was called St. Simon's. The occupancy of this building by Mr. Conor and his flock, extended from 1836, or 1837, till 1841, when he and they, as has been already stated, took possession of the old Scotch Secession Meeting House, Gloucester Street. That, as we have seen, has since been replaced by the present Gothic edifice of St. Simon's. Mr. Conor is still its incumbent.

A congregation of foreign converted Jews, under the ministry of Mr. Hirsch, has, during a portion, if not the whole of the period since the departure of Mr. Conor and his people, worshipped in the chapel, Sir Thomas' Buildings. The service is conducted in the German language.

16.—*Edmund Street Chapel.*

This small building, to which entrance is obtained by a long and narrow passage, lies at the back of the houses on the right side of Edmund Street, going from Oldhall Street. It may be 15 or 20 yards from the last-mentioned thoroughfare—the court leading to it being nearly, but not quite opposite to Earle Street.

Several religious denominations have worshipped in this scarcely known and somewhat antiquated edifice, at different periods; but it strikes me that it has been principally in the occupation of one section or another of the Baptist body. Mr. Underhill was for a time pastor of the church assembling within its walls. I have more than once heard the late well-known, Mr. William Gadsby, Baptist minister in Manchester, deliver in it very characteristic and effective discourses.

Mr. John Nevin, a most respectable minister from the north of Ireland, (who several years ago went to America,) along with a small congregation of Covenanters, or reformed Presbyterians, had for some time the use of this chapel.

17.—*The Baptist Chapel, Great Crosshall Street.*

This structure, several times referred to, claims a passing notice. It is of considerable size. It was opened by Mr. Underhill in 1818, or 1819; but, owing to unhappy dissensions, originating principally in pecuniary difficulties connected with the erection of the building, was soon left by himself and friends. Since then, it has been in the possession of more than one body of Particular Baptists. A Welsh congregation of this persuasion, lately

occupied it. Indeed I believe it is still in their hands. There was a very small burial-place behind. Considerable alterations have taken place in this edifice, rather, I should say, additions, have been made to it, since it was originally constructed.

18.—*Zion Chapel.*

This is situated at the junction of Murray, Charles, Hood, Roe, and Market Streets, opposite the north-west angle of St. John's Market,* and although of no great size, is one of the neatest edifices of its kind in Liverpool.† It is in the Grecian style of architecture, having two columns of the Doric order, with entablature and pediment to correspond, in front. For many years, it was occupied as a place of worship, by Methodists of the New or Kilhamite Connexion. Having been sold, and converted into a Fish Hall, about eighteen or twenty years ago, its congregation removed to Bethesda Chapel, Hotham Street, as already mentioned.

The body assembling here enjoyed in 1829, and for some time afterwards, the benefit of the ministrations of Mr. Thomas Allin, a man of considerable ability, and characterised by no small share of originality of mind. Mr. Allin is favourably known as a theological writer.

19.—*Meeting House, Prussia Street and Pall Mall.*

This building is the property of the Welsh Calvinistic or Whitefieldian Methodists, a body existing in large numbers, and possessing great influence, in the neighbouring Principality.

A chapel, occupying the site of the present one, was erected by the same sect in 1787; but, having been found to be small and inconvenient, it was taken down in 1816, and replaced by that which now meets the eye. From the circumstances of this Meeting House standing in a densely-peopled locality, and of a considerable proportion of its neighbours being natives of Wales, it is always well attended.

20.—*Meeting House, Bedford Street, Toxteth Park.*

Another place of worship belonging to the highly respectable Association of Welsh Calvinistic Methodists. It is situated between Stanhope and Upper Harrington Streets. Ebenezer is the name borne by it. Looked at from Bedford Street, it has a large and respectable appearance. The period of its erection was 1805. Very considerable alterations and repairs have been undergone by it, within the last twelve or fifteen years.

* Vid: Gage's map of Liverpool, 1835. † Getting rapidly and sadly deteriorated.

In this edifice, between twenty-seven, and forty or forty-five years since, Mr. Thomas Edwards preached, one of the most able, efficient, and successful ministers, of whom the Welsh dissenters of Liverpool can boast. He was emphatically one of our worthies. In point of literary qualifications and accomplishments—to which he made no pretensions—he did not rank high. But in masculine strength of intellect, originality of thought, and vigour of expression, he was equalled by few if any, and surpassed by none of his contemporaries. To hear him address an audience in his native tongue, when in good trim, is said to have been a perfect treat. A conversation with him, I can testify, was so.* This extraordinary and excellent man. who was beginning to break up from the time that I first knew him, died in 1825, or 1826. His decease occasioned a great sensation among the nonconformists of this place. The funeral, in several respects, deserves to be spoken of as a public one. A very long procession of mourners, through a dense crowd of spectators, made its way from Ebenezer Chapel, to St. James' church-yard, where the interment took place. Dr. Raffles having pronounced the oration in the chapel, the body, on its arrival at the church, was received by the Rev. W. I. Hutching, then incumbent at Wavertree, and now resident in London, who read the burial service of the Established Church in Welsh, in a manner the most solemn and impressive. The large attendance of mourners, the deep solemnity that pervaded the whole mass, and the stifled sobs, from time to time audible on every side, rendered the scene one which it is impossible ever to forget.

21.—*Benn's Garden Chapel, Redcross Street.*

Considering what has been said already of this building, it is enough to observe at present, that after having been vacated by the Presbyterians, (Unitarians,) in 1811, on occasion of their taking possession of Renshaw Street Chapel, and undergoing certain necessary repairs, it came into the occupation of a respectable body of Welsh Arminian Methodists, who have continued to worship in it ever since.

22.—*Chapel at the bottom of Stanley and Matthew Streets, and corner of Derby Place.*

Under the head of St. Stephen's Church, Part 1, I took occasion to allude to the building of this place of worship. It was erected by Mr.

* A prayer which he offered up in my house, on occasion of a breakfast at which Dr. Raffles, and a considerable number of the dissenting ministers of Liverpool were present, has made an indelible impression on my mind.

Johnson's followers, for his and their joint use, when they quitted the old Byrom Street Chapel, in 1747–48. Having been occupied by Mr. Johnson himself till his death, and for several years posterior to that event by his friends and co-religionists, it was finally abandoned by them in 1800, when they opened and took possession of their new place of worship, in Comus Street.*

The departure of the Johnsonian Baptists, was followed almost immediately by the occupancy of Stanley Street Chapel, by a society of Particular Baptists, under the pastoral care of Mr. Abram Webster. The ministry of this gentleman extended from about the beginning of this century, till 1810, or 1811.

Mr. Webster was succeeded by Mr. Henry Paice. During his settlement, and in consequence of his earnest and zealous exertions to promote the cause of adult or believers' baptism, the controversy arose, in which Dr. Stewart, minister of Gloucester Street Chapel, and Mr. David S. Wylie, pastor of a Sandemanian Baptist body then meeting in a room in School Lane, acted prominent parts. Dr. Stewart published a very able pamphlet in opposition to Mr. Paice's views. This drew forth from Mr. Wylie a reply, couched in the form of letters, and reaching to about 100 pages, which, in point of perspicuity, classic elegance of style, vigour of composition, research, sound biblical criticism, and the use occasionally of a sarcasm, forcibly reminding one of Junius, has had few if any parallels among the productions of the Liverpool press. Never was the Baptist cause so well, and at the same time so succinctly defended.†

To return, Mr. Paice quitted his charge in 1815, or 1816, and I am not aware that, except Mr. John Underhill, he had any settled successor in the Stanley Street Chapel.

In 1818, the church and congregation removed, with Mr. Underhill, whom they had called to take the spiritual oversight of them, to the then recently-erected place of worship, on the south side of Great Crosshall Street; and the Stanley Street Chapel having been sold, was converted into an old furniture warehouse

* Where Mr. Stephenson, from Wisbeach, during a considerable period of time, officiated as minister. Then, Mr. Guyton.

† I am not a Baptist; and yet a regard to truth constrains me thus to express myself. While speaking of the Baptist controversy, I may take occasion to state that one very long and laboured work, on the Baptist side of the question, has issued from the press of this town. It is the production of Mr. Seacome Ellison, a respectable gentleman belonging to the place, and a member of the Johnsonian body here.

This edifice occupies a conspicuous place in Mr. John Eyes' map of Liverpool, 1765,* and the passenger may still recognise it, in Derby Place, near the spot where Matthew Street joins Rainford Gardens, amidst all its changes, by its pediment, and its decidedly chapel-like construction.

23.—*Quaker Meeting House.*

The former meeting house of the Friends, stood in Hackin's Hey, off Dale Street, close to Quaker's Alley. It was opened in 1709, and is, or at all events, lately was standing. Access to it is debarred to the public, by a high stone wall.

From sixty to sixty-five years since,† the body removed to the commodious, but plain-looking structure in Hunter Street, which had been erected for its use, and which it continues to occupy. Adjacent to this building, and with a wall close to Hunter Street, is a cemetery, in which are deposited the remains of Dr. Rutter, one of the founders of the Athenæum, and founder of the Medical Institution. Here also rest several other worthies connected with the Society, who, during their lifetime, had their residence in Liverpool.

24.—*The Jewish Synagogue, Seel Street.*

According to Lacey, page 271, the Jews had originally a Synagogue in Matthew Street, which existed in 1776, and which, according to the same authority, came afterwards into the possession of the Glassites, or Sandemanians, a respectable body of professing Christians, which, for thirty or forty years at least, has had its place of meeting in Gill Street, near Pembroke Place.‡

Mr. R. Brooke, F.S.A., a member of the Society, is of opinion that the first Jewish Synagogue was situated, not in Matthew, but in Cumberland Street, just at the place where, in going towards Dale Street, it begins to widen. Discoveries of coffins and human bones, made here some years

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* In the map of Mr. Charles Eyes, 1785, it is also very distinctly laid down.

† 1790, or 1791.

‡ The Glassites, or Sandemanians, derive their origin from Mr. John Glas, at one time minister of Tealing, near Dundee, who quitted the Church of Scotland in 1728, took up his abode in Dundee, and died there in 1773. His works, including that most able and scriptural piece, "The King of Martyrs," extend to four large and closely printed 8vo. volumes, which were printed and published by Donaldson, at Edinburgh, 1761. Mr. Robert Sandeman, his near relation, who espoused his sentiments, was author of the celebrated "Letters on [Hervey's] Theron and Aspasio," as well as of several other clever productions. The sect is often, particularly in Liverpool, nicknamed *Beefeaters*, from the social meal of which, on the principle of the ἀγαπαι or love-feasts of primitive Christianity, the members, without distinction of rank, partake with each other, between the morning and afternoon services.

ago, when a house was taken down, for the purpose of a new building being erected in its stead, and certain other circumstances, seem to Mr. Brooke to corroborate his view of the matter. But, he has been good enough to inform me, that so far as his enquiries have hitherto been prosecuted, he can obtain no satisfactory information whatever. Either the Jewish registers are silent on the subject, or there is an indisposition to say anything about it. Mr. Brooke appears to have come to the conclusion that the Israelites who first appeared in Liverpool were probably foreigners, who resorted to it for the purposes of traffic, and who, having had no intention to take up their permanent residence here, either kept no records, or, if they did, on their return to their native country, carried these along with them. At all events, so far as our friend's researches have yet extended, no written traces of the occupation of the meeting house in Cumberland Street, by the Jews, have been brought to light.

Having carefully examined the maps of Mr. John Eyes, 1765, and Mr. Charles Eyes, 1785, having compared them with that of Gage, 1835,* and twice personally inspected the locality referred to, I am satisfied that I have made myself acquainted with the merits of the case, as well as discovered a way in which the apparently conflicting statements of Lacey and Mr. Brooke admit of an easy and perfect reconciliation. Matthew Street, in 1765, and even now, assuming Derby Place to be a part of it, reaches from North John Street to Derby Street, called in 1765, Lower Stanley Street. This last named Street leads into Whitechapel. Almost close to that part of Derby Street, (in its entire length, a very short thoroughfare by the way,) which is at the northern end of what was once Mr. Johnson's Chapel, and which runs into Broker's Alley, stood the first Jewish Synagogue. Without being chargeable with any great inaccuracy, a person who had occasion to speak of this building seventy or eighty years ago, (when there were scarcely any houses between it and Matthew Street, and when, nearly as soon as the Matthew Street Baptist meeting house was passed, one found oneself at the edifice in question,) might, correctly enough for ordinary purposes, describe it as in that Street, or, at any rate, at the end of it. Besides, to mark still further a sort of loose or general propriety in speaking of the Synagogue as having been in Matthew Street, it may be added, that in 1765, there was no Street or Lane leading from it to the north, east, or west, as it stood close to fields intervening

* At the Athenæum where an admirable series of maps of the town may be consulted.

between it and Sir Thomas' Buildings. Cumberland Street on the west reached no farther than Poplar Wient, now Poplar Lane, and on the east there were only about four or five houses from Whitechapel; and, therefore, ingress to it, and egress from it, were obtained, if not exclusively, at all events principally, from Matthew Street. It was situated towards the eastern extremity of Matthew Street; its position resembled what the French call a *cul de sac*, and as having been in some respects a continuation of the street just named, it might fitly enough be regarded as in it. Mr. Brooke, however, is after all *more exact* (not perfectly so, for the Synagogue was not put down just at the spot where Cumberland Street *begins to widen*,) than Lacey. Charles Eyes' map of Liverpool, 1785, in which the two portions of Cumberland Street, previously separated, are represented as joined, shews the edifice in question to have had its site close to the *narrower* portion of that Street, where its exact location may I think, without much difficulty, be ascertained. Cumberland Street, Bakehouse Lane, (formerly Bakehouse Wient,) Stanley Street, and Broker's Alley, form very nearly a square, or "block" of houses. In 1765, judging from J. Eyes' map, this space—to the west at least—seems to have been open; now it is densely, I should say entirely covered with buildings, and extremely small courts. At the north-eastern corner, or extremity, of this block, with its front, or rather perhaps one side to Cumberland Street, stood the Synagogue. Subsequent changes, although they have succeeded in effacing all traces of it, still leave the spot which it occupied easily discoverable. Bakehouse Lane goes through from Stanley Street, to Cumberland Street, but Broker's Alley, which is parallel to Bakehouse Lane, reaches only from Stanley Street, to that part of Derby Street which terminates westerly, at the northern angle of the old Baptist Chapel. There a gate intercepts further progress north-eastwards, or to Cumberland Street. Let the observer then take his stand at the Stanley Street end of Broker's Alley, or rather on the footpath of Stanley Street, immediately opposite to it. Looking over the wooden gate which bounds the Alley to the north-east, he will perceive a building of two or three stories in height, and of comparatively recent erection, apparently a workshop or factory, and probably that of a joiner or wood-turner. The other side of this building is in a line with Cumberland Street. Taking the maps of 1765, and 1785, as well as occular observation, for our guides, it is impossible to come to any other conclusion than this—that on the site occupied by this factory, or at

least on a part of it, stood the first Jewish Synagogue in Liverpool. Here, in all likelihood, in preparing for the erection of the factory referred to, were found the coffins, bones, and other remnants of mortality, to which allusion has been made by Mr. Brooke.

When this first Synagogue had been abandoned by the Liverpool Israelites, and had come into the possession of the Sandemanian body, the next meeting place of the Jews was between Pitt and Frederick Streets, at a very small distance from Kent Street.* The exact situation of this, and of the small burial ground attached to it, occasion no difficulty. They are still easily accessible.

The present principal Jewish Synagogue is a neat edifice in Seel Street, near Colquitt Street—an open space, of some size, being connected with it. It was built and opened for public worship about 43 or 44 years ago. A Hebrew inscription in front serves at once to indicate it to the passing stranger.†

Some members of the Hebrew fraternity have for several years assembled for devotional purposes in the room in Pilgrim Street, near Hardman Street, to which we have had occasion more than once previously to allude.

Besides the burial places already spoken of, there is one for the interment of Hebrews, now disused, at the corner of Oake and Crown Streets; the latter thoroughfare having been long known as Boundary Lane. This may still be visited by the curious. A cemetery, with a handsome façade, situated in Deane Street, near London Road, has now for many years been devoted to the burial of their dead by the Jewish community.

[The unexpected length of this paper has prevented the insertion of some additional matter respecting persons and places. For the sake of completeness, it was thought desirable to notice *all* the instances of "destruction, removal, &c.," and this has been done on the same scale as in the first part, vol. iv.—ED.]

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* See W. Moss' Liverpool Guide, 1799, p. 64.

† Several years ago, on one of the few occasions on which I have visited Seel Street Synagogue, I had the unexpected pleasure of hearing a gentleman, named Isaacs, deliver a discourse, of some length, on Revelation. If the discourse itself was unexpected, so also was the able and admirable manner in which, in many respects, he treated his theme. Without of course pledging myself to the approbation or adoption of all that was said on the occasion referred to, I can state with truth, that I heard expressed in the happiest language, sentiments which, from the correct views of the subject which they afforded, might well put many calling themselves Christians, but who in ignorance of what they are about, have endeavoured to rest divine revelation on the basis of mere human reason—the subsiantial on the basis of the shawowy—to the blush.

KNIGHT.

PAWN.

CHESS-MEN FOUND AT THE MOTE HILL, WARRINGTON.

II.—An Account of Excavations made at the Mote Hill, Warrington, Lancashire.

By James Kendrick, M.D.

A few years more, and the existence of the *Moot*, or *Mote-Hill*, at Warrington, will become a mere record of history. The course of modern requirement has called for its entire demolition and removal, with the exception of a small and mutilated portion, which still holds a precarious and undistinguishable tenure. Its site now forms part of that of the "*Clergy Orphan Institution*," and to secure a proper foundation for this extensive building, it has been found requisite from time to time to remove portions of the ancient *Mote-Hill*, until little now remains.

Whilst the recollection of these changes remains fresh in the memory of many, I have thought that a short record of them would be a fit subject for the consideration of our Historic Society; the more so, as, independent of their local interest, a few of the early remains found during the excavation of the *Mote-Hill*, possess likewise a singular value to the general archæologist.

An examination of the neighbouring locality, leads to a belief that the *Mote-Hill*, at a very remote period, formed part of an elevated ridge of land, running in a north-east direction from the site of the present churchyard. A large portion of this ridge still remains in the fields between the *Mote-Hill* and the high-road to Manchester; and it is not improbable that the high land of Church Street is another portion, running in an opposite direction.* But be this as it may, the form of the hill, which, until a few years back, was a very perfect oval, is clearly artificial; and, with its flattened summit, was a characteristic example of the tumulus, designated by antiquarians "the broad barrow." Its height above the land surrounding it was three yards, though apparently greater, from a trench or water-course, which ran at its base on the south and west sides, and on the outside of which were distinct remains of a *vallum*, or earthern parapet. Prior to the year 1832, when a large portion was removed from the south-west border of the hill, its level summit measured from east to west fifty-four

* A reference to the *Plan of Warrington*, given at page 22 of the preceding volume of the *Historic Society's Transactions*, will greatly assist my description of the locality.

yards, and from north to south forty-three yards. The south and west sides were steep and abrupt, terminating below in the ditch and *vallum*, whilst on the north and east, although the form of the mound was very clearly defined, its sides sloped more gradually to the low ground near it.

The first inroad upon the *Mote-Hill*, in its perfect state, (at least for two centuries,) occurred in the year 1832, as just stated, and we are fortunate in possessing from the pen of the late Rev. Edmund Sibson, of Ashton, near Wigan, a graphic account of the form and size of the mound at that time, and also of the early remains found during the removal of a considerable portion. This valuable contribution to our local history, forms part of an account of the *Roman Roads in Lancashire*, written by Mr. Sibson for Mr. Edward Baines, and inserted in the third volume of his History of the County of Lancaster, a work of so easy access and frequent reference, that I will not occupy the time of the Society with reading the description of the Mote-Hill at Warrington, more especially since the appearances there detailed are inferior in interest to those observed in 1841, when the centre of the mound was opened to a large extent, and a considerable depth, as the foundation of the "*Clergy Orphan Institution.*"

The necessary *Excavation*, of which a drawing is appended,* was in length thirty-four yards, and in width twenty-two yards; comprising within its extent rather more than one-half of the area of the *Mote-Hill*, and this too, from its centre. Its depth was three yards, and several driftways for the removal of the soil, afforded additional opportunities of displaying the internal structure of the mound.

On examining the sides of the excavation, it was evident that the summit of the hill had been raised to the extent of three feet, by the heaping upon it of much clay, sand, and earth. (B. B. *in the drawing.*) The line of separation was very distinctly marked by a stratum of pure vegetable soil (C). As my subsequent remarks will entirely refer to a period *anterior* to this adventitious superstratum, I may dismiss it at this point by stating

* A. A. A. Green sward, covering the top of the Mote-Hill.—B. B. A stratum of clay, mixed with earth, copper dross, fragments of earthenware and glass; in the lower part many tooled *ashlars*.—C. C. A stratum of vegetable soil, with boulder pavement in places.—D. Burnt Clay, mixed with carbonized wood, reeds, &c.; on the top a layer of black matter, mixed with unburnt bones and broken pottery.—E. Sandy loam.—F. F. F. Ochrey sand.—G. A conical pit, containing white wood ashes, with burnt pottery and bones (human?).—H. Sand, burnt to a red colour.—I. An ancient *well*, the sides formed of oaken staves. In it were found the bones of deer, sheep, geese, and other animals; also a small bronze *fibula*, or brooch.

that it is traditionally said to have been placed upon the ancient *Mote-Hill* by the forces of the Parliament, in the year 1643, with the view of battering the church, which was garrisoned by Royalists, from thence. To this precise spot, indeed, and to this occasion, I refer the marvellous incident recorded in the Puritan tract, "*Lancashire's Valley of Achor is Englandes Doore of Hope; by a well wisher to the Peace of the Land, and Piety of the Church,*" printed in 1643, when the noise of the besiegers working was providentially concealed by a high wind.* In the removal of this mingled stratum of earth and rubbish no relics were found, with the exception of a few of no earlier date than the Siege in 1643. A military spur, a few brass ornaments for harness, with some fragments of glass, which may be referred to the same period, comprise all. One or two English coins of a later date were found, and a gold moidore of Portugal, IOANNES. V. D.G. PORT. ET. ALG. REX. 1724."

Having thus disposed of the less interesting portion of my subject, I turn to the consideration of the *Mote-Hill*, in more ancient times. Commencing with the line of vegetable soil, (marked C. in the drawing,) which unquestionably marks the original summit of the mound, I shall first describe the appearances presented by the sides of the *Excavation*, and the early remains found in it, and afterwards enumerate such objects of interest to the antiquary as were found at *uncertain* depths, in consequence of the impossibility of constant supervision by those whom other engagements unavoidably called away.

Below the band of vegetable soil, the hill was composed of sand, disposed in wavy strata, and of remarkably sharp texture. Underneath the sand, again, was a thick bed of clay. On a level with the line of vegetable soil, traces of the action of fire were manifest over a large extent. The materials employed for combustion appear to have consisted of brushwood, reeds, and straw, the remains of which, though carbonized and blackened by the fire, might still be distinctly made out and separated. The thickness in which this stratum (marked D. in the drawing,) was found, varied from an inch to a foot or more. At the point on which it was thickest, the sandy soil underneath had been burnt to a bright red colour; and the pebbles with which it was mixed were calcined by the application of so strong heat. Intermixed with the burnt vegetable matter were found many

* Proceedings and Papers IV., 28.

fragments of pottery, of early mediæval date.* Such they have been designated by Mr. Akerman, the Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries, to whose opinion the more interesting relics found at the *Mote-Hill* have been submitted. Along with them were picked up the half of an ancient iron horse-shoe, curiously vandyked on the outer edge; an oval piece of iron, which may have formed the head of an arrow or javelin; another piece of iron, apparently the curb of a horse's bridle; a curved knife-blade, considered by Mr. Akerman to be Anglo-Saxon, and part of a small millstone or quern.

In many places, immediately above the burnt vegetables, was found a thin layer of a peculiar brown matter, which had an unctuous feel when kneaded between the fingers, staining them to a deep chocolate colour. When applied to the flame, however, it did not ignite, nor exhale any unpleasant odour, nor when gently heated did it melt, but on the contrary, left a dry insoluble powder. It could scarcely, therefore, be an animal *residuum*. There were, however, at the same level found large quantities of broken bones and teeth of the ox, and wild boar, and probably of the red deer also, as portions of stags' horns were here and there discovered. As was remarked by Mr. Sibson, who observed the same organic remains in the excavation of 1832, every bone had been broken, but none actually burnt; leading to the inference that the animals had been rudely cut up into pieces for the convenience of cooking, and completely refuting any supposition that the carcasses had been buried entire.

At one point of the Excavation, (marked G in the drawing,) a deep pit, of a conical form, had been dug in the sand, and a wood fire burnt in it, as was evident from the quantity of white ashes which it contained, amongst which were found a few pieces of early pottery, strongly burnt, and three or four fragments of calcined bones, which an acquaintance with anatomy leads me to believe were those of a human being.

There is one point further shewn in the drawing, which requires description; an ancient *draw-well*, marked I. Although here represented as on a level with the floor of the Excavation, it originally extended upwards to the line of vegetable soil, and was reduced correspondingly with the removal of the sand. The sides of the well were composed of oaken staves, laid horizontally, and supported at each end by strong posts, driven deep into the

* See the *six* lower figures in the accompanying drawing.

I picked up the smaller of these pieces on the occasion which forms the subject of the present paper, from earth which had been wheeled from the Excavation, and can therefore afford no clue to the precise spot where it had lain concealed for ages. So little evidence of antiquity did it possess, that I preserved it unnoticed for ten long years, amongst the other results of the search, until, in the early part of the last year, (1851) my opinion was asked on the nature of the larger piece, which had just before been found by a labourer, in a further enlargement of the Clergy Orphan School, rendering necessary extensive cutting, at a right angle with the former excavation. Unfortunately, no one qualified to examine and record the appearances exhibited on this second occasion, was aware of the undertaking until too late; but from the account given by the finder, I feel every confidence that the larger piece was seen by him *in situ*, and that this was in, or immediately below, the line of vegetable soil which marked the original summit of the Mote-Hill. A momentary glance at this second relic was sufficient to connect it with the former one, and no time was lost in submitting both to the opinions of our most distinguished archæologists. Without hesitation, and with one accord, they were pronounced to be *Chess-pieces*, and of a date anterior to any previously known.*

As it is scarcely possible to imagine a figure more simple and primitive than the smaller piece, we may safely term it a *Pawn*, the piece of least value. The larger one I look upon as a *Knight:* but if we except the two small circles on the upper and fore part, which may have been intended for eyes, and some distant resemblance in the whole figure to the arching neck of a horse, we are left to form our judgment rather from the negative character which it exhibits, when compared with the other pieces of the game, than from any distinguishing points.

The pieces are formed of remarkably fine *jet*, similar in quality to that obtained from the aluminous shale in Yorkshire, where it is employed, even to the present day, in the manufacture of ornamental articles. Fosbroke, in his *Encyclopedia of Antiquities*, states that even prior to the Christian era, the Britons were in the habit of carving rings and beads from this material, ornamenting them on the outside with imperfect circles, scratched upon them by some hard instrument.

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* With the exception, perhaps, of those of the Emperor Charlemagne, given in Willemin's "*Monumens Inedits.*"

The close affinity which this description bears to one of the present relics, would at first view carry us back to this period of our history for their origin, but authorities are unanimous in considering that the game of Chess was introduced into this country by the Danes, in the reign of Canute. A date further back than this, therefore, we cannot assign to them.

Mr. Albert Way, who favoured me by exhibiting the *Chess-men* at the recent Meeting of the Archæological Institute at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, likewise informs me, that from a recent conversation with Worsaae, the Danish antiquary, he learns that no objects formed of jet have been discovered in the Scandinavian countries. Nor is this to be wondered at, since the material does not occur there as a natural production. We cannot, then, consider the Chess-knight and Pawn, found at Warrington, to be of Danish manufacture and introduction; but must of necessity descend to the later Saxon times. And this I consider their probable era. The insatiable attachment of the Saxons to the "Royal Game," is perhaps another argument for the correctness of this date, and the two interesting relics now brought again to the light, may, in an age long past, have been the warlike toys of one of the Saxon thanes, named in the Domesday Survey as holding land under King Edward, within the hundred of Warrington.

In relics of the description before us, the style of ornamentation is often a useful index to the most valuable points of their history. Unless my failure in detecting this may be in part attributable to the limited means of reference which a small provincial town affords, I fear we have little to hope from this source. The only instance of an approximation to the figures seen on the larger Chess-piece found at Warrington, is on the shield of one of the ancient Chess-knights found in the Isle of Lewis, depicted and described by Sir Frederick Madden, in the 24th volume of the *Archæologia*. The device on the shield alluded to is a simple linear cross, the centre formed by a dotted circle, and each limb similarly terminated. By a reference to the wood-engraving given here, it will not require much imaginative licence to detect a similar device, the form of the Chess-piece rendering it necessary that the cross should be somewhat distorted. It is singular, and perhaps not without a hidden meaning, that the straight lines and other supernumerary ornaments are all in an erect, instead of a pendent position. The instrument employed in the carving, (if it be in the least worthy of such a name,) appears to have been a sharp knife, from the

notches still remaining in the small angles round the apparent face of the horse. The circles and lines are very irregular and rude, but the surface and bevelled edges of the pieces bear a high polish, little affected by the coarse depository in which they have reposed for centuries.

I am fortunate in possessing the opinions of several distinguished archæologists on the subject of the Warrington Chess-men. After stating his conviction that the relics are unquestionably chess-pieces, Sir Frederick Madden, (in himself a host,) thus continues:—"The period to which they belong is a more difficult question, but from the rude style of ornament, I should certainly judge them anterior to the twelfth century, and perhaps as early as the tenth. * * * * The workmanship of the pieces found at Warrington is so rude that they may have been executed by a Scandinavian, an Anglo-Saxon, or a German hand; and, no doubt, the history and supply of the *material* of which they are made, (as in the case of the Lewis Chessmen, made of the teeth of the *Walrus*,) would have considerable weight in determining the people by whom they were cut and engraved." Mr. Roach Smith says—"The Chess-men may be as old as the ninth or tenth century. At the same time they may be as late as the twelfth. I should not think they are of a date much more recent than the latter, and it is more likely they are older." Mr. Way concurs with Mr. Roach Smith in the date which he assigns to the relics, and further considers them undeniably the fabrication of this country, and not of its foreign invaders. Mr. Hawkins, of the British Museum, by whose favour the chess pieces were exhibited to a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries, on the 17th of June last, stated upon that occasion, that in his opinion, they cannot be of later date than the tenth century, and that they are unquestionably genuine.

With the sanction of such high authorities, I think I may claim for the town of Warrington the good fortune to have furnished archæologists with the earliest form of chess-men hitherto discovered. They are likewise the only specimens which can, with any degree of confidence, be considered of British manufacture. When entire, the set must in all probability have comprised the usual number of thirty-two pieces; sixteen being of jet, and the same number of some adverse colour and material. For the latter, amber, ivory, or the tooth of the *Walrus*, are the most probable; all of extreme durability, and leading us to entertain a hope that ere long it may

be the lot of some lucky excavator to strike his pickaxe into a perfect California of ancient chess-men.

I have dwelt so long upon these interesting relics that little time is left for any further remarks upon the *Mote-Hill* itself. Various surmises have been ventured upon, relative to the period at which the Mote-Hill was first formed, and the purposes to which it was then applied. Pennant pronounced it of Roman origin; Dr. Ormerod says that it is Norman, and Mr. Whitaker, the historian of Manchester, considers it Saxon. To this last opinion I think all the appearances detailed this evening afford strong support. Mr. Sibson, likewise, who was present at the examination of the hill in 1832, and again in 1841, coincides in this view, and suggests that it originally constituted a *tumulus*, or burial-place, raised after the battle fought at Winwick, near Warrington, on the 5th of August, A.D. 642, between the rival Saxons, Oswald, king of Northumbria, and Penda, king of Mercia, in which the former was slain, and to whose honour the Church of Winwick is still dedicated. The details of Oswald's death and burial are, however, circumstantially narrated by *Beda*, as taking place at Winwick, and with him it is probable that his followers, who fell on the same occasion, were interred. May I, then, express an opinion that the Mote-Hill, at Warrington, is the *tumulus* of Elfvin, a Northumbrian prince, nephew of king Oswald, and like him a Christian, who fell in battle with Ethelred, king of Mercia, A.D. 679, since the parish church at Warrington, at the period of Domesday Survey, was dedicated to *St. Elfin*. The distance from Warrington to the field of battle, on the banks of the Trent, in which Elfvin fell, is probably not more than twenty-four or thirty miles, and being a near relative of both kings, it is more than likely that his remains would be brought for Christian interment to his native province. Here, then, within a quarter of a mile of the ancient *Ford* over the Mersey, *which they must have sought to gain the kingdom of Northumbria*, I suppose that the royal Elfvin was interred, and the Church which then, or soon afterwards, arose near the spot, dedicated to his memory.

When England fell under the Norman sway, we find that the conqueror placed his baron, Paganus de Vilars, at Warrington, and that he selected the *Mote-Hill* as the site of his residence. Of this a few probable remains were found at the time of the excavation, consisting of massive beams of timber, and a few tooled and squared stones, which may have formed

the foundation for the pillars of a gateway. Immediately above the stratum of vegetable soil, which I have spoken of as indicating the original summit of the hill, a number of boulder stones, disposed in the form of a regular pavement, were found over a large extent of surface, and may formerly have marked out the court-yard. At this level was also found a silver penny of Henry III., the moneyer's name **AIMER. ON. LVND.** We have no record of the demolition of this edifice, but in a Survey of the Barony taken in the year 1587, in possession of the Right Hon. Lord Lilford, the *Mote-Hill* is spoken of as "the Scyt of the Mannor or Barronage nowe decayed, and no Buildinge thereuppon."

In conclusion I may state, that from measurements and calculations which I have caused to be made, there still remains a small portion of the *Mote-Hill* undisturbed. Such inducements to further research as I have detailed this evening, combined with the watchful interest awakened amongst the workmen and gardeners employed at the Institution, inspire me with a hope that at some future time, unless undertaken by an abler hand, I may again have the pleasure of laying before the Historic Society an account of further discoveries made at the ancient *Mote-Hill* at Warrington.

SECOND MEETING.

Collegiate Institution, 9th December, 1852.

DAVID THOM, D.D., Vice-President, in the Chair.

PROCEEDINGS.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The following gentlemen were duly elected :—

1. *Honorary Member.*

   Robert MacAdam, College Square, Belfast.

2. *Ordinary Members.*

   Edward Benn, Vauxhall Distillery, Liverpool.
   Edward Bury, F.R.S., Sheffield.
   Thomas Eckersley, Wigan.
   Samuel Robert Graves, 13, Redcross Street, Liverpool.
   Henry Walter Harrison, 5, Rodney Street, Liverpool.
   Rev. John Henderson, M.A., Colne.
   Robert Hutchison, 61, Grove Street, Liverpool.
   George F. Smith, 6, Park Lane, Liverpool.

The following DONATIONS to the Society were laid upon the table :—

1. From the *Societies.*

   Transactions of the Dublin University Philosophical Society, vol. v., 1852.

   Archæologia Cambrensis, or Transactions of the Cambrian Archæological Association; New Series, No. xii.

   Graceo Egyptian Fragment on Magic, being No. 2 of the 8vo. publications of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 1852.

   Annual Report and Minor Communications from the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 8vo, 1852.

2. From the Library and Museum Committee of the Town Council.

   Catalogue of the Library, 4to., 1852.

3. From *Individual* Donors.

Dr. Hume.	Catalogue of the national and provincial antiquities in the temporary Museum at Belfast, September, 1852.
Thomas Avison, F.S.A.	Dugdale's Monasticon, 1st English edition, abridged from the Latin. fol., 3 vols. in one, 1693.
Dr. Kendrick.	Impression from the original wood-block of Eyres's Warrington Advertiser, issued 23rd March, 1756, and supposed to have been the first newspaper in the county. The post-boy is represented as leaving the town for the South, by the ancient stone bridge; the watch-house on the first pier is represented. *(See illustration.)*
	Old blue back, or the Warrington Volunteer. This was the oldest corps in the County, except that at Lancaster; the members provided themselves with arms, accoutrements, and clothing.
Dr. Thom.	The works of John Barclay, A.M., Pastor of the Berean Church, Edinburgh, with preface by Dr. Thom, 16mo. Glasgow, 1852.
	Memoir of Mary Martha Sherwood, by Dr. Thom, an 8vo. Tract, 1852.
Messrs. William and Guy Medley.	Memoirs of the late Rev. Samuel Medley, (their grandfather,) compiled by his son. 8vo. London, 1800.

The following articles were EXHIBITED:—

By the Rev. G. B. Sandford, M.A., Church Minshull.	The Registers of Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials, in the parish of Church Minshull, from 1561, to 1851, arranged Alphabetically.
By Simon Yorke, Esq., Erddigg, Wrexham.	Six original documents, relating to Cheshire, illustrative of the Revolution of 1688.
By Lady Combermere.	Copy of an original document at Combermere Abbey, relating to the imprisonment of Sir Robert Cotton, in the Tower, 1685.
By Thomas Avison, F.S.A.	Plan, section, aud description of a Liverpool Slave Ship, 1790.
By Peter R. McQuie, Esq.	The "Liverpool Chronicle" newspaper, of October, 5th, 1769. It consists of eight pages, and is marked volume ii., No. 98. It contains, with other matter, a letter to Junius.

ORIGINAL WOOD-BLOCK OF EYRES'S WARRINGTON ADVERTISER.

	Muster Roll of the Liverpool Independent Volunteers, 1803; on parchment and in a case,—Capt. George Case, First Division. Out of about 100 individuals named in it, Thomas Moore, Esq., is the only one now living amongst us.
	Silver Medal, presented by Lieutenant Colonel Bolton to Corporal Leatherbarrow, for his faithful services, August 25th, 1805.
	Sword, captured by Mr. Leatherbarrow's great grandfather at Preston, in 1745. The captor was a tailor, and when the rebel rushed up his stairs to plunder, he beat him back with his goose.
	An original letter of the Duke of Wellington, to Thomas Moore, Esq., dated March 14th 1835.
By John Robson, Esq.	A statuette, which seems to have been attached to a crucifix. It was found in a railway cutting, near Preston Brook; the feet are pierced together with one hole. Its date appears to be from the 12th to the 14th century.
By Dr. Hume.	A Dutch tobacco box, carved both at top and bottom, and which must have been carried over the arm by a chain, like a reticule.
By C. B. Robinson, Esq.	Sketch of an ancient door in West Kirkby Church.
	Sketch of St. Wilfred in Ripon Minster.

The Secretary laid upon the table a copy of volume iv., and stated that the Plates alone in it had cost more than a hundred guineas.

Dr. Hume drew the attention of the Meeting to an Australian newspaper, the *Melbourne Argus*, of August 21st, which a friend had forwarded to him, on finding that it contained a report of part of the Society's Proceedings, in the month of April last. There is a similar notice in the *Tasmanian Colonist*, of September 6th.

On the recommendation of the Council, two Resolutions were unanimously adopted: the *first* giving the Presidents and Secretaries of the other learned Societies in town admission to all the ordinary meetings, and extending the privilege to other officers on occasions of special interest; the *second* expressing regret for the death of Mr. Just of Bury, and sympathy with the members of his family.

PAPERS.

Notice of Certain Documents, illustrative of the Revolution of 1688.

By Major-General the Hon. Sir Edward Cust, K.C.H., D.C.L., F.R.S.

These letters were found in a bundle of others of no public importance, at Erddigg, near Wrexham, in Denbighshire, the residence of Simon Yorke, Esq. They relate to the family of Edisbury, to whom that mansion belonged at the period to which they refer. Joshua Eddisbury, Esq., had married a daughter of Broughton, of Doddington, and was evidently embarked, heart and purse, on the popular side, at the Revolution of 1688. His correspondents are naturally all of the same opinions; and the whole is interesting as a domestic episode in our County History, of which the Lord Delamere's tryal and acquittal form an important incident. Within a few years of these events, the mansion of Erddigg was sold to the ancestor of Mr. Yorke, and it is not a little remarkable that a bundle of letters relating to a family who alienated it so long ago, should have been so long dormant in a neglected corner. Henry Lord Dela Mere was tried for high treason, in connexion with Monmouth's rebellion. The account of this transaction is thus related by Bishop Burnet:—

"Soon after the Prorogation, the Lord Dela Meere was brought to his trial. Some witnesses swore high treason against him, only upon report that he had designed to make a rebellion in Cheshire, and to join with the Duke of Monmouth. But since those swore only upon hearsay, that was no evidence in law. One of the witnesses swore home against him, and against two other gentlemen, who, as he said, were in company with him; and that treasonable messages were then given to him by them all to carry to some others. That which gave the greatest credit to the evidence, was that this Lord had gone from London secretly to Cheshire at the time of the Duke of Monmouth's landing, and that after he had staid a day or two in the country, he had come up again as secretly to London. This looked suspicious, and made it to be believed that he went to try what could be done. The credit of that single witness was overthrown by many unquestionable proofs, by which it appeared that the two gentlemen, whom he said met with that Lord in Cheshire, were all that while still in London. The witness to gain the more credit, had brought others into the plot by the common fate of false swearers, who bring in such circumstances to support their evidence, as they think will make it more credible, but being ill laid, gave a handle to those concerned to find out their falsehood. And that was the case of this witnesss for, though little doubt was made of the truth of

that which he swore against this Lord, as to the main of his evidence, yet he had added such a mixture of falsehood to it, as being fully proved destroyed his evidence. As for the secret journey to and again between London and Cheshire, that Lord said, he had been long a prisoner in the Tower upon bare suspicion: He had no mind to be lodged there again: So he resolved in that time of jealousy to go out of the way: And hearing that a child, of which he was very fond, was sick in Cheshire, he went thither: And hearing from his lady that his eldst son was very ill at London, he made haste back again. This was well proved by his physicians and domestics, tho' it was a thing of very ill appearance that he made such journies so quick and so secretly at such a time."

Henry Lord Delamere was the second son, but eventually heir of Sir George Booth, Bart., elevated to the Peerage on the accession of Charles II. for his loyalty and services to the Crown in the Great Rebellion. He was M.P. for the county of Chester during the life-time of his father, and was appointed Custos Rotulorum of the County of Cheshire, on the resignation of his father, 1673. He was distinguished in an early period of his parliamentary career, by his ardent affection for the liberties of his country, and the Protestant Establishment; and he was active in promoting the bill for the exclusion of the Duke of York. The conduct of Mr. Booth met with the visitation which might actually have been expected, from the arbitrary measures of the Court, immediately upon the accession of that Prince to the Throne, as James II. He was put out of the Commission of the Peace, and deprived of his office of Custos Rotulorum, and after his accession to his father's title, in 1684, he was thrice committed to the Tower, and liberated without any formal accusation being brought against him. The following order to the Lieutenant of the Tower, shows the time and manner of the committal of a fellow-sufferer.

Robert, Earl of Sunderland
and Baron Spencer &c.

These are, in his Majesty's name, to authorize & require you to receive into y^{r} Custodie the bodie of S^{r} Robt Cotten of Cheshire, herewith sent to you, for dangerous, and treasonable practices. keep him safe and Close till hee be discharged by due course of lawe, for which this shall bee y^{r} warrant, given at the Court of Windsor the 23^{d} daye of Sep^{er} 1685

SUNDERLAND

To the Lieutenant
of the Tower

On the 9th of November 1685, Lord Delamere, then a prisoner in the Tower, petitions the House of Peers.

"That His Majesty by his Proclamation, dated 19th July last, did require the Petitioner to appear before him in Council in thirteen days, not for any matter of treason, but for other less matters herein contained. That accordingly, within seven days he did render himself to My Lord Sunderland; And that after being brought before His Majesty then sitting in Council he was neither confronted by any person that accused him, nor otherwise charged with any manner of Treason, but only asked some questions relating to matters of a less nature. And had he been guilty of them, yet by law, he might and ought to be bailed. That yet the Lord Sunderland, by warrant bearing date 26th July last, did commit the petition to the Tower of London (for High Treason in levying war against the King) where he had remained ever since under a very close restraint."

Mrs. Mainwaring's letter to Mr. Edisbury, gives an account of Lord Delamer's journey to London from His Lordship's Country Seat of Mere, in Cheshire. It may be remarked in passing, that this lord is indicated as "Henry Baron Delamere of Mere in the County of Chester," and that the evidence on the trial speaks of his Country House of *Mere;* but the residence of the Brookes, of that name, came into their possession A.D. 1652, and was never inhabited by the Booths; and it does not appear from King's Vale Royal or from Ormerod, that there was any other mansion of this name, belonging to the noble family of Dunham. The lady correspondent is an unmarried niece, whose mother is a Broughton, of Doddington. The following is her letter.

For Josua Edisbury Esq^{re}
att
Dodington
These.

July y^{e} 28th
1685:

Honrd S^{ir}/

Y^{r} oblidging letter has given us all grate sattisfacktion: bringing y^{e} good news of y^{r} healthe: and y^{t} our frends at Dodington are well: which I pray God Long to Contunue: on friday Last my L$^{d.}$ went towards London: wth much Cherfulness: & saide as he Did formally: y^{t} if innocinc would prove a protection he was Secure however he Desired y^{t} both he: & his frends might submit wth all patience to y^{e} will of God: for if Death Came: he hoped it wod not Be a Surprise to him: his poore Lady went after him on Sunday: But if she herd By y^{e} way y^{t} he was not in the tower: she Desined to turn back agane: But as yet we have herd no more: y^{e} reason he Declared why he obsconded: was this: for fear of imprisonment: which he saide was as bad as Deathe to him: and in y^{t} Junture he writ to my L^{d} presedent y^{t} he would apear might he have his Liberty: & this was before

y^e^ rebells ware taken: & since he writ to y^e^ same porposs So y^t^ y^e^ may find by y^t^: he had no Desine of riseing: which his Enimise say he had but this post bringing y^e^ news of y^e^ Ld^s^ being secured: makes us fear it may be his fortuen tow: but all we Can do is to beg of God to fit us for y^e^ worst: and support his peopel in ther afflctions & we have then grate reason to think y^t^he will in y^e^ End: turn & ordor all for y^e^ Best my Coson Ravenscrofts are here y^e^ give you all ther service: my Cos: Mary Desires y^e^ faour of my Cos: bety glegg to Make her a bottol of surrop of Clofe giliflowers & she will return her y^e^ sugar: w^th^ many thanks: & if y^rs^ Dont hit: this year if she Can prcure her any she will take it for a grate faour: y^e^ whole service of this fameley atends all at Dodington: which is all ye trobell you shall recive at present but to beg y^r^ beliefe y^t^ I am: y^r^ most affec: nece & hum^bl^ ser^t^

my service to Cos: C. MAINWARING.
bety

We herd this post from our frends at London & y^e^ all are very well I thanke God: and desine this week to go to tunbridg

Lord Chancellor Jeffreys in his place in the House of Lords, November 16th of the same year, gave this account to their Lordships of the proceedings had and intended to be had, against the Lord Delamere. "The treason whereof he is accused was committed in Cheshire, and that being a County Palatine the prosecution must be there and not in the Court of King's Bench, as it might be if the Treason had been committed in any other County. And therefore His Majesty had given order for a Commission of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, in order to the finding an indictment against him." The Indictment is set out at length, but it does not appear from the "State Tryels" *where* the trial was had, excepting that it was before Jeffreys as Lord High Steward, and thirty Peers chosen "by commandment of my Lord Steward of England." Lord Delamere pleaded that he could not be tried by a Jury of his Peers during a Prorogation of Parliament, but the plea was overruled. The following letter from Sir Robert Cotton, Bart., fixes the date of the Tryel.

For Josuah Edesbury
Esqre at Erthigg neare
Wrexham In Denbigh
Shire
by Chester bagg.

D^re^ S^r^

This daye the Lord Delamer was tryed there Ma'ties being present, the tryall lasted for 7 howers, many witneses weare

Examined against him, as well as ffor him, but In the Ende hee was acquitted by all his Peeres. Saxons euedence was Equally ffull against the same Lord: m^{r} Offley & your seruant ffor high treason, but as ffully disproued, I hope you will neuer haue occasion to trye how much you haue oblidged mee to bee

Jan^{ry} ye 14 168$\frac{6}{7}$

Your most ffaith ffull & humble seruant
Rob Cotton.

No contemporary Record mentions the fact of "There Ma'ties being present,"—which proves, nevertheless, the deep interest taken by the court in the prosecution of this Lord. It is added, "The tryall lasted for 7 howers." In the account given by the "State Tryalls," it appears that the noble prisoner, on being called on for his defence, said, "May it please Your Grace, a great part of the day is spent, and I would beg the favour of Your Grace that I may have the favour till to-morrow morning to review the notes I have taken, and then I shall make my defence." On this the Judges were consulted, as to whether "after my Lords the Peers are once charged and the Evidence partly given" . . . . "an adjournment could be done by Law." The Judges return with answer, that "the point is both new to us and of great consequence in itself;" they therefore think it the properest way, having laid matters as we conceive them before Your Grace and my Lords, to submit the jurisdiction of your own court to your own determination." On which Jeffreys lays it down thus. "I apprehend this court is held before me. It is my warrant that convenes the prisoner to this bar. It is my summons that brings the Peers together to try him, and so I take myself to be Judge of the Court; for though your Lordships are judges of your own privileges, yet, with submission you are not Judges of the Law in this Court, for that I take to be my province." Accordingly, he directed the Tryall to proceed. Sir Robert Cotton goes on to say many witnesses were examined against him, and notices especially "Saxon's evidence," were equally full against the same Lord, Mr. Offley and your servant, for high treason. It was as follows:—

"At the beginning of June last, I was sent for to Meere, my Lord Delamere's house in Cheshire, where, when I came, I was conveyed into a lower room, where were my Lord Delamere, Sir Robert Cotton, and Mr. Crewe Offleys, and they told me that I was recommended to them by my Lord Brandon, who had said I was an honest useful man, and they hoped I would prove so. For they had sent to the Duke of Monmouth who was in Holland, and

received an answer by one Jones, and as soon as they had an answer, my Lord Delamere came away first into the Country, under another name, to raise 10,000 men for the Duke of Monmouth in Cheshire by the first of June; but now they had considered it and found they could not raise them till Midsummer, for they must have time to raise a sum of money, forty thousand pounds in that Country to maintain the men. They asked me whether I would not undertake to carry a message to the Duke of Monmouth. I told them I would, and I had then given me eleven guineas and five pounds in silver for my journey, and I did hire a horse afterwards, and did deliver my message to the Duke of Monmouth."

It appears this Saxon was "a public tradesman in Middlewich," and had been taken prisoner after Sedgemoor, and put in prison at Dorchester and Newgate; from thence he was now brought to give his evidence. The Attorney General in his opening stated,—"That the late Duke of Monmouth did look "upon Cheshire as one of his main supports, and upon "My Lord Delamere as a principal assistant there; that he had a design "to have landed in Cheshire, where he expected to be most readily "received; that when Lord Delamere came into Cheshire, he had set about "the work to put that County in a forwardness to assist in the Rebellion; "and had acquainted this man (Saxon) with the whole design; and was "engaged to raise so many thousand men and so much money, to be ready "by such a day." Very clear evidence was produced, of the worthless character of Saxon; and the butler, footman, and maid servants of Sir Robert Cotton, Mr. Ashburnham, and Mr. Heveringham, Members of the House of Commons, proved that Sir Robert was in town when he was said to have been in Cheshire Sir Willoughby Aston and his servants proved Mr. Offley to have been in his own house at Crewe Hall, in Cheshire, on the day named. Accordingly, as Sir Robert Cotton's letter has it, "In the ende he was acquitted by all his Peeres."

The occasion of the correspondence between Sir Robert Cotton and Mr. Edisbury, appears from the second letter to have been this. Sir Robert being thus suspected of Treason was required to give "such grate bayle" as the latter gave his friend. From the "Bayle" he was called to appear at the King's Bench, on the 23rd of January, to be discharged, together with Lord Delamere and Mr. Offley; but the letter goes on to give a piece of information, of which I find no notice taken anywhere. An "Indictment or Information of perjury" was "preferred against Saxon;" and, it is added in a P.S.,—"the prosecution of Saxon is by his Ma^{ties} order." Yet in Grainger it is said the King was

very desirous of his Lord Delameres being tried before another tribunal, where even the testimony of such a wretch as Saxon would have been admitted. The following is the letter :—

For Josuah Edesbury
Esq^re at Erthigg
neare Wrexham
by Chester
bagg

Honored S^r

After the great obligation you laid upon mee In giueing such great Bayle ffor mee, I can not but giue you Notice that this daye My Lord Delamere, mr. Offeley, and my selfe apeared at the King's bench, where wee weare all discharged, And an Endictment or Information of periury prefferred against Saxon who accused us, I hope you will neuer haue occasion to use y^r ffriends on the like account, but you maye bee confident on all occasions you will find me

the prosecution of Saxon
is by his Ma^ties order
Jan^ry y^e 33^rd
8^ber

S^r
Your most oblidged
Cosen & humble
Seruant

my wife is your seruant
& wee are both soe to my Cosen Bettie

Rob Cotton

Lord Delamere had soon an ample revenge for any severities that had been employed against him. He, together with the Earls of Devonshire and Danby privately concerted the plan of the Revolution, at the village of Whittington in Derbyshire, where the room in which they sat, what is now a farm house, is still distinguished by the name of "the plotting parlour." After the Revolution was complete the same noble Lord was sent with the Marquis of Halifax to the Earl of Shrewsbury, to inform Prince James that the Prince of Orange desired he would quit Whitehall. To his honour it is recorded that the generous conduct which he displayed on this occasion, made such an impression on the fallen Sovereign, that after his retreat into France he said, "The Lord Delamere whom he had used ill had treated him with much more regard than the other two Lords to whom he had been kind, and from whom he might better have expected it."

The next letter is from Sir William Forester, K^t., who appears from the context to have accompanied the Prince of Orange to England. He is not mentioned in those lists which are found in any of the Histories

I have met with; but must have been a man of some consequence, as he was married to a daughter of James, the third Earl of Salisbury, and is said by Collins to be "of Dothill, in the County of Salop, Knight." I apprehend him to be an ancestor of the present Lord Forrester.

For Jos Edisbury
Esquire.

Hon^rd S^r Dodington Jan 17° $\frac{88}{9}$

I flattered my selfe with y^e hopes of seeing you here, y^t I might not only acknowledge y^e hon^r done me by your kind letter, but have y^e satisfaction and advantage of talking w^th you on y^e present happy Conjuncture, a subject fitter for conversation than my Pen, especialy at this time when y^e shortness of my stay here, and my fathers coveting my company, rob me of y^e pleasure of answering you soe fully as I wou'd. I can arrogate nothing to my selfe from my promoteing all along, & now engaging in y^e Deliverance of Eng^d, since 'twas a right I owed to my Country, ariseing from Principles as unchangeable as my nature, & I know you too well to doubt y^r readiness in shareing in y^e hon^r of saving y^e nacon, had you ever been seasonably advertisid of the design, w^ch you had been from me by an express at Landing, had we come as was intended into y^e North. The Prince has done his part, and if y^e Convention do's not theirs, to settle us now on sure foundacons, we may reproach those y^t send up y^e ffrank Ch——s & Ned Kin——s to ease dissenters, and secure us ag^t Popery & Arbitrary Power hereafter.

I am sure there is noe one valews your friends.p. more than my selfe, or wishes more for occasions to convince y^u how much I am

y^r true friend and faith full serv^t

W: FFORESTER.

The last letter is from Peter Shakerley, Esq., M.P. for the City of Chester, and gives an interesting account of public events; the death and general mourning for Queen Mary, and the proceedings in the House of Commons towards raising a supply for the year 1694.

Westminster!
Jan y^e 5^th 1694

Sir!

Y^u may think mee verry forgettfull both of my Respects and Promis to y^u that I have not before this time given y^u the Troubl of a Letter, but truly I have these two things to say for my self, first that I have had not any thing to write, save what y^u had in y^e Publick Prints (for 'though the Loss of our good Queen was much feared before it came, yet it was not fitt to mention it before the Goverment thought fit to publish it) and in y^e next Place I had noe mind to write any News w^ch I was not well assured was True.

The Death of y^e^ French King's great General Monsieur Luxemburg is certain; But as for y^e^ Report of his Son's Killing y^e^ Duke of Mayn (y^e^ French King's base son) it seems but a Fiction. Wee are still in expectation of some Attack to be made by y^e^ Confedderate Forces, towards Dixmude, and if the frost houlds 'tis affirm'd somthing will be don on that side, and y^e^ Duke of Savoy 'tis thought will force Cazall to surrender, if 'tis not very speedily relieved by y^e^ French.

Yesterday our house was in a grand Comittee to consider of ways and Means to rais the Remaind^r^ of y^e^ supply for next year. The Total of w^ch^ is 5 millions, and 2 millions of it is supposed to com in upon y^e^ 4^s^ p^r^ pound Bill now before us, one million more is designed to be had out of the Tunnage and Poundage Act allready pass'd, and towards a Fund for the other two millions a Duty was proposed of 3^s^ p^r^ Tunn upon *all* Coal, But upon y^e^ Arguments urged that *all* Coal could not bear that nor in deed any charge y^e^ Question dwindled to onely Coal put on Shippboard and Landed in England or Wales or Ireland, but that allso cooled upon y^e^ debate, and other Hares were started, one was a duty to be pay'd upon Marriages, Christenings, and Burialls; and other Hints were again made for a Tax upon Leather, w^ch^ is what y^e^ Courtyers doe most desire; 'twould Rais an unknown great summ of money, and creat a great Number of Officers, w^ch^ would make soe many Dependancys upon them. But that w^ch^ yet seems the most aequall, (if any Tax can be soe) is a Proposition made by Doctor Barebone, viz: that each house having two chimneys and under four, should pay 2^s^ 6^d^ p^r^ ann^m^: and each house haveing four or more should pay 5^s^ p^r^ ann^m^: this he proposes will raiz one hundred and twenty thousand pounds p^r^ Ann^m^: w^ch^ 'tis allow'd would be a Fund for 2 millions. But what these Debates will end in time must shew. My humble service presented to y^r^ self, Cozen Betty and Mrs. Lea, I remain

Y^r^ Oblidged Nephew and
most obedient Serv^t^.
PETER SHAKERLEY

To morrow every person of any Note in this Town will be in Mourning for y^e^ Queen w^ch^ has made Black Cloathiers from 18 to 30^s^ p^r^ Yard

I add a Memorandmm, apparently of the time, giving a detailed account of the progress and extent of the fire of London, 1666.

Memorandum Sunday 2^d^ 7^ber^ 1666 about 3 in y^e^ morn y^e^ wind being high and easternly there happened a lamentable fire in a baker's house in pudding lane neere new fish street w^ch^ burnt with y^t^ violence y^t^ it turned into ashes y^t^ day Thames street, from puddle wharf to y^e^ 3 cranes new fish street eastcheape, y^e^ Southside of cumming street, p^t^ of Dougate and all y^e^ lanes & streets between those places.

vpon munday y^e^ 3^d^ it burnt Grace church street p^t^ of fancis street

y^e^ northside of Cumming street, Lumbert street, cornhill, y^e^ Royall exchange, y^e^ poultry, whalbrooke, all from y^e^ Thames to cheapside as far as S^t^ paule church yard w^th^ y^e^ South side of cheapeside.

vpon Tuesday & twesday night it consumed all y^e^ remaineing west p^t^ of y^e^ city w^th^ Ludgate, newgate, Old Bailiefe St. Martins, great wood street, y^e^ rest of cheapside and most of y^e^ north p^t^ of city, w^th^ Billinsgate & y^e^ east end of Themes street to y^e^ tower And all y^e^ Towerstreet y^e^ Tower hardly escapeing w^th^ y^e^ custome house w^th^ all y^e^ wharfes & cranes thereabouts.

Wednesday it destroyed Ludgate hill & ffleet street as far as y^e^ Temple & w^th^ in 3 houses of St. Dunston's church, on y^e^ other side of ffleet street, sue-lane, halfe fetter lane, Houlbourne till from newgate to y^e^ Bridge p^t^ of cow lane, Pye corner y^e^ remainder of y^e^ north p^t^ of y^e^ city downe to Aldergate Cripplegate & moorgate, Posthouse, Thridnidle street, Barthollomew lane Lothbury, p^t^ of Broad street y^e^ Duch church & Augustine but not y^e^ french church, there may now be tould oh y^t^ it might not be tould soe to y^e^ enemie of our peace and religion aboue 60 steeples the churches destroyed & never a house between them.

There remaines w^th^ in y^e^ wall onely Bishoppgatestreet & leadenhall street S^t^ Hellens, St. Marie, Duks place Broad street winchester street Crutch's friars seething lane Mark lane & halfe fances street, New Aldgate.

Mem. Southwarke was fired at y^e^ same time, but throw mercy onely two houses burnt, y^e^ remaining p^t^ of y^e^ city attempted to be burnt Tuesday y^e^ 6 being sett on fire in Bishopsgate street but timely p.vented

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II.—Attempt to identify the place called "Parathalassus," mentioned in one of the Colloquies of Erasmus.

By William Rushton, Esq., M.A., London.

In that colloquy of Erasmus entitled "Peregrinatio Religionis Ergo" he mentions the incidents of a pilgrimage to three shrines; (1) of St. Iago de Compostella in Spain, (2) of the Blessed Virgin at *Parathalassus* in England, and (3) of St. Thomas at Canterbury. The second of these places is said to be situated in the farthest corner of England;* in the north west, (inter Occidentem et Septentrionem), about three miles from the sea; the religious house is of regular canons; and the neighbouring village is supported by profits arising from the concourse of strangers. A minute description of

* "Ad extremum Angliae finem, inter occidentem et septentrionem, haud procul a mari, passuum fere tribus millibus. Vicus est vix aliâ re victitans, quam commeantium frequentia."

the chapel and relics is given; but the most important relic was a portion of the Virgin Mother's milk. A Parisian named William, whose brother was Bishop of Constantinople, in his earnest zeal to collect relics, procured a quantity of this milk at the latter city. In his progress to deposit it in the temple of the Blessed Virgin at Paris, he took sick and died, but a companion of his journey undertook to forward it to its destination. He also died on the way, and the milk finally reached Paris by the hands of an Englishman to whom it had been entrusted. The regular canons there presented him with half of it, as a reward for his pains; and this he conveyed to the shrine at "Parathalassus" in his native country.

The writer of this paper is of opinion that the word indicates a positive place, and is not a mere topographical description meaning "by the sea side;" but in examining what actual place coincided with the description, he was not able to arrive at a definite conclusion, and merely suggested the inquiry. Assuming that Erasmus actually meant the North West of England, and that England in his day as well as our own included Wales, the following places may be examined:—St. Asaph, Rhudlan, Birkenhead, Cockersand, Conishead, Furness, Lytham, Preston, St. Bees. The detailed description of the place, as given in the original, coincides in part with the characteristics of some of these; but none of them is exactly suitable. Some disagree in position, others in their relation to the sea, religious character, &c.

It has been alleged that Erasmus, in saying "the North-west," referred to England as lying North-west of Holland, where the dialogue was written to which allusion is here made. This explanation, however, is at variance with the words "ad extremum *Angliæ* finem, &c." Perhaps, after all, it is a mistake of Erasmus, exhibiting either ignorance of geographical details or lapse of memory.

[The shrine to which Erasmus alluded, is most probably that of Our Lady of Walsingham, in Norfolk, founded in the eleventh century, It was visited by several kings and queens of England, including Henry VIII., and the legend of the Virgin's milk was connected with the popular belief that her peculiar place in the heavens was the milky way, or as they called it, the "Walsingham way." The wells, the distance from the sea, the celebrity of the shrine, and numerous other circumstances, point out this place as the real Parathalassus; however the speaker in the dialogue may seem to err in position or direction.—Ed.]

THIRD MEETING.

Collegiate Institution, 6th January, 1853.

DAVID THOM, D.D., Vice-President, in the Chair.

PROCEEDINGS.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Certificates of six Candidates for Membership were read for the first time.

The following gentlemen were duly elected:—

Rev. Hugh Stowell Brown, 118, Chatham Street, Liverpool.
Gilbert James French, Bolton-le-Moors.
John Longton, Breck Road, Liverpool.
William Penn Smith, Hanover Street, Liverpool.

The following gentlemen were enrolled as Members without election, in accordance with a by-law of the Society:—

Sir John Potter, late Mayor of Manchester.
Thomas Littledale, Esq., late Mayor of Liverpool.
John Herdman Sherson Esq., late Mayor of Lancaster.
Philip Stapleton Humberston, Esq., late Mayor of Chester.

The following DONATIONS to the Society were laid upon the table:—

1. From the *Society*.

Transactions of the Literary and Philosophical Society, Manchester; vol. x., 2nd series.

2. From the *Author*.

Shakspeare's Puck and his Folk Lore, vol. i., 12mo., 1852. By Dr. Bell, Hon. Mem.

3. From *other* Donors.

J. W. Whitehead, Esq. — English Liberties, or the Freeborn Subject's Inheritance, 18mo., London.

	A collection of the several statutes and parts of statutes now in force relating to High Treason, 18mo., London, 1709.
	The Ancient History of the Septuagint, by the Rev. Dr. Done, of St. Paul's, 18mo., London, 1685.
Dr. Thom.	The Primitive Episcopal Magazine, 3 parts, 8vo., with a portrait of George Montgomery West, D.D.

The following articles were EXHIBITED:—

By the Rev. Mr. Bannister.	An Ancient bronze Sacrificial knife, found at Pilling Moss, 1852.
By J. W. Whitehead, Esq.	Jesus en de ziel, 18mo., Amsterdam, 1687.
By R. N. Dale, Esq.	A pack of Cards, with illustrations respecting the Popish Plot, and the murder of Sir Edmondsbury Godfrey. The original pack included fifty-two pictures and descriptions; of which in the present case, only five are wanting. These are *Spades*, I, II, and III; *Clubs*, I and VI.
By Dr. Hume.	A map of the two counties of Down and Antrim (Ireland), coloured topographically, physically, ethnologically, and ecclesiastically.
By R. Brooke, F.S.A.	Rubbing of a brass in Winwick Church,—Peter Legh, a Knight with monkish dress over his armour. *(Vide Proceedings and Papers*, ii. 246.)
	Pine's *fac-simile* of Magna Charta.
By J. Stonehouse, Esq.	Documents respecting the fires of London.
By T. D. Hibbert, Esq.	Eight letters of the time of Elizabeth and James I.

The Chairman having drawn the attention of the meeting to the lamented decease of the Rev. G. B. Sandford, M.A., of Church Minshull, a valued member of the Society, a Resolution was unanimously passed expressing regret for his death, and sympathy with the members of his family.

A letter was read from James Boardman, Esq., suggesting he propriety of the celebration of the centenary of Roscoe's birth, on the 8th of March next, by the Literary and Scientific Societies and Institutions of the town. The Council were deputed to enter into communication with the other learned societies in the town on the subject.

Mr. Boardman also sent a communication in reference to the house in Richmond Row, lately called "The Loggerheads," noticed in Mr. Stonehouse's paper on Everton. It belonged to the Nicholson family, and was sold about twenty-five years ago. In a Liverpool paper of 1766, it is advertised as "half a mile distant from Liverpool." It is rendered remarkable by the fact that Mrs. Hemans in her youth, Ugo Foscolo, and Dr. Clayton of the Octagon Chapel, were guests of its owner, Matthew Nicholson, Esq. This letter was accompanied by a drawing of the house as it appeared in 1793.

Mr. Brooke drew attention to the fact, as shewn by Blackstone, that the privileges secured by Magna Charta were not extended to vassals, but merely to those embraced by the word "liber."—He also drew attention to a passage in it regulating commercial matters.

Dr. Thom communicated the words of Erasmus, about the interpretation of which there were various opinions, as expressed on Mr. Rushton's paper read at the last meeting, and subsequently in Mr. Robson's letter.

PAPER.

Notice of the portion of the MS., Harl. MSS., 1927, 10[b]—1574—1578 formerly in the possession of Thomas Chaloner, Citizen of Chester.

By Thomas Heywood, Esq., F.S.A.

The pursuits and habits of the citizens of Chester during the latter part of the sixteenth century, presented a remarkable contrast to those of the inhabitants of the adjacent districts. Aix as described by Walter Scott, or Nuremberg as celebrated by Hagen and Longfellow, were not more addicted to poetry and song than Chester, and the Burgundians, and the German "Reiters," were about as uncongenial neighbours to René and Hans Sachs, as the turbulent inhabitants of Lancashire and Cheshire to the refined dwellers on the banks of the Dee.

There were many circumstances which tended to make Chester the resort of poets and musicians. Here, the minstrels came to receive from the Duttons those licenses which still conferred upon them a certain legality and dignity, notwithstanding the severity of acts of parliament, and the failing respect of the multitude. The Chester miracle plays, the subject of somewhat conflicting notices by Lysons, Ormerod, Markland, Collier, and Wright, required not only a number of separate companies of actors drawn from the Trades guilds, in order to insure a simultaneous performance, but

also a considerable auxiliary force of minstrels and singers. The songs introduced were of the most opposite character. Thus the gossips of Noah's wife indulged in the boisterous humor of a tavern, whilst the angels at the Nativity probably borrowed their melody from the cathedral choir. That choir, at the close of the century of which we treat, directed by Pilkington, had acquired great celebrity. Painting too, in various modes, lent its aid to the miracle plays. The necessity for suitably receiving the great officers who were frequently staying at Chester, on their passage to and from Ireland, as well as of doing honor to the Chamberlains, the Earls of Derby and Leicester, accustomed the citizens to speeches, laudatory poems, triumphs, masques, pageants, feats of activity, processions, &c. In some commendatory verses prefixed to one of Pilkington's musical publications, 1624, the high poetical pretensions of Chester, and the conviction of being able to make them good, are thus set forth—

> Arts praise, and skill's high pitch, are not so tyed
> To bankes of Po, or silver Thames, (we see,)
> But Jove's faire bird may haunt fine streams beside
> And chaunt sweet layes on brinkes of Antique Dee,
> Old Chester is not so with Eld ore laine,
> That when contention is for praise, she then
> Should not her old borne title still maintaine,
> And put in for her claime to chiefe of men.
>
> Brit: Bibl: 2, 160.

We should nevertheless do this city an injustice, if we believed that it was exclusively a receptacle for Troubadours and Jongleurs. The incessant passing of the military connected with the Irish service, of settlers, (undertakers as they were called,) on confiscated estates, and of soldiers oscillating between the low countries and Ireland; in short, the constant presence of fierce, reckless adventurers, sufficiently kept alive a warlike spirit. On all fitting occasions the citizens of Chester manifested courage and endurance, and especially during the civil wars in the time of Charles the First

Thus, however partaking of enjoyments which had much of an intellectual character, Chester was surrounded by districts then slowly exchanging the excitements incident to the feudal system, for the greater disquiet of theological animosities; they had also become the refuge of the wild and lawless.

I am he
Have measured all the Shires of England over,
Wales and her mountains, seen those wilder nations
of people, in the Peak, and Lancashire,
Their Pipers, Fiddlers, Rushers, puppet masters,
Jugglers and Gypsies, all the sort of Canters,
and Colonies of Beggars, Tumblers, Ape carriers,
For to these Savages I was addicted.
(The New Inn, Ben Jonson.—Act 5, s 1.)

A manuscript book existing in the British Museum, (Harl. MSS. 1927, fo: 10^b) affords a considerable insight into the social economy of the city of Chester, at the period to which we are alluding. This work is written in various handwritings, on white paper, and is of the octavo size. It contains 120 folios, and belonged to Thomas Chaloner, and the eldest Randle Holmes. It is to the first fifty-three folios, the portion of the book occupied as an album by the productions of Chaloner, and his friends, that we would now direct attention. These are written between 1574 and 1578, the rest of the book is in Holmes' autograph, on paper of a red tint, the latest date being 1638.

Thomas Chaloner may have descended from the same Welsh family with his great namesake, although we have seen no evidence of such an alliance. The name existed in the counties of North Wales; and Chester was the resort of adventurers from the principality.

Ormerod, (Cheshire, vol. 1, p. xviii.,) states on the authority of Dr. Gower, that "Thomas, Jacob, and James Chaloner, were father, son, and "grandson, and carried on the business of herald painters, and professed "compilers of genealogies at Chester, as conducted by Randle Holmes. "Many of their pedigrees are extant among the Harl. MSS., and one "entire volume of them was in the hands of the late Dean of Chester." In the Harl: MS., 1970, Thomas Chaloner is designated as "King of "armes for Ireland," and on the monument of his widow's husband (Ormerod, 1, 266) he is called "Ulster King at Arms." In examining, however, the epitaph in St. Michael's church, Chester, (Omerod, 1, 271) we discover that he finally attained more important rank. Hic jacet corpus Thomæ Chaloner nuper de hac urbe civis quem pater patratus a Trenta in boream sibi ad diem obitus 14° Maii anno 1598 surrogarat quo magno suo desiderio expiravit. Here lies the body of Thomas Chaloner, lately of this city, a Citizen whom Garter King at Arms appointed herald north of the

Trent, on the day of his (Chaloner's) death, the 14th of May, 1598, when to the great grief of Garter, he expired. Chaloner married Elizabeth Alcock of Chester, who becoming afterwards the wife of the first Randle Holmes, probably conveyed to him her deceased husband's collections of poetry. This lady died 1635, and Holmes in 1655, aged 84.

These Chester verses betray in their construction the age to which they belong. They have much of the smoothness which Surrey and Wyatt transferred from Italian to English poetry, qualified by a large admixture of Saxon metres, and by that use of alliteration which even Chaucer condemned. We must account 1574 as a very early period in the history of English poetry, and consequently, one in which models for improvement were scanty and little known. The two poets we have mentioned, with Chaucer, Baldwin, and Vaux, would almost complete the list of those who could then be deemed popular writers. There were ballads innumerable, poems of which the "Nut browne Maid" is an exquisite specimen, and songs of great pathos and beauty, snatches of which have been preserved by the dramatists of the succeeding age; but the value of these was less appreciated in Chaloner's days than in after times. For although Lilly's Euphues only appeared in 1581, yet affectation had previously been the received Gradus ad Parnassum, and Chaloner might indisputably be admitted to share in Puttenham's very doubtful eulogy on Vaux of being a poet of "counterfeit action." Where this Chester writer felt strongly, and wrote naturally, we think he was successful; but where he undertakes to display the emotions of his admiring friends, we regret that Sir Piercy Shafton cannot be resuscitated duly to estimate the performance.

We shall now give a portion of the table of contents of Chaloner's book, occasionally making quotations, and especially directing attention to a state of society in which the Muses acted so considerable a part.

"Sent to a gentlewoman whom he loved, long to her not known, 1576, "May 2. T. C."

"Writt to a gentlewoman to the same effect."

"An epitaph for Jane, wife of Walter Foxe, Merchant, written in the "Cittie of Chester, 1575. T. C."

"A poesie writt in a handkerchief for E. C. T. Ch."

"A wish, 1575."

" A younge gentleman's letter to a gentlewoman, wherein he compares his " love to the Merchant and his affections to the Shipp, written p. T. C. " to J. B. the 20 June 1576 at Chester."

" Ten lines each beginning with the word " Tyme" p R Salisbury."

" A copie of demonstrations." These are verses made by Chaloner explanatory of a screen designed by Parker of Lord Derby's household, for the great hall at Lathom. The signs of the zodiac, the mariner's compass, and certain geographical problems, were explained on this screen, which also dealt in astrology, and even condescended to treat of the economy of the household. The poetry was inscribed on the outside of the first fold. There also occurs a poem on Parker's old age, in which Chaloner personating that important domestic, bids the world adieu.

He has here followed closely the piece written either by Surrey or Vaux, and given in Percy's Reliques, book 2, number 2, entitled, "The aged lover renounceth love," from which also Shakspeare did not disdain to borrow.

Lord Vaux writes,

My lusts they do me leave,
My fancies all are fled,
And tract of time begins to weave
Graie haires upon my head.

For age with stealing steps
Hath claw'd with me his crowch,
And lusty youthe awaye he leaps,
As there had been none suche.

* * *

A pikeaxe and a spade
And eke a shrouding sheet,
A house of claye for to be made,
For such a guest most meete.

Chaloner thus paraphrases these verses,

My youthful wantonness,
which flewe as swyfte as arowe,
Brings me no other fruitfulness,
but seeds of sores and sorrowe.

Tyme hath me overflowne
old age hath me in snare
Graie haires are rife, and overgrowne,
and will me to prepare.

* * *

Wheare youthe doth me abhorre
and laughs to see my crutche
With scornes and toyes to see me wore,
as he sholde be none sutche.
* * *
A pickaxe and a spade,
a platt to make my grave,
So tract of time hath turued younge trade,
which age no more must have.

Again Vaux says,

Methinkes I heare the clerke
That knolles the careful knell,
And bids me leave my weary worke
E're nature me compel.

Which Chaloner renders,

Come on thou knowlinge clerk,
and toll thie bell for me,
For I have done my worldly worke
and have no fear of thee.

Parker, with the other members of the Lathom household, no doubt resorted to Chester to share the amusements in which that city abounded. Of these an excellent account is given in the first volume of Ormerod's Cheshire. Two are alluded to in these verses, the horse race in which the silver bell given by the Draper's Company was the reward, and some other mode of competition for which a banner was the prize; thus the records of Chester inform us, that in "1578 Sheriff Montfort did win the standard "on Shrove Tuesday at the Rood Eye."

Chaloner representing Parker says,

Since I no more can beare,
and boast the banner brave,
I yelde it youthe henceforth to weare,
which age no more may have.
All bewtie won of yore,
old age hath conquered quight,
That bewtie brave, and lovers lore,
age doth no more delight.
Farewell therefore brave brute
that beares the boastinge bell,
Farewell my sweet, & loving, lute,
whom I have lov'd so well
My children whom God brought
farewell to you eitche one,
For age to mee a passport brought
that I must neads be gone

The story of Troilus and Cressida so generally admired from the days of Chaucer to those of Shakespeare, and which, notwithstanding the asseverations of the Father of English poetry, is believed to have been of his own making, is noticed by Chaloner, folio 29, in stanzas to M. N.:—

If Troilus whose truthe was tryde
of craftie Cressis might complayne
as he had cause in care to byde,
no lesse a pinch doth pricke my payne.

"Acrostic upon the name of Jane Hanmer and Robert Salisbury fin: "P. R. S."

"Chaloner's dream of a presetion" (procession), occupies 93 stanzas.

"To a friend that loved letteys and sallettes in winter when there was no "force therein. Sepr 6. 1576"—That is when they were tasteless, forcing of vegetables is supposed to have been introduced into England at the close of the seventeenth century.

The only historical piece in this MS. is the epitaph on Walter, Earl of Essex. Chaloner here mourns the loss of one unknown to him at the request of Hurlton, a Chester follower of the Earls:—

Yet Hurlton for thie sake
My skill shall be in hazardes hands, this sad discourse to make.

And Chaloner also says, in conclusion of the subject of his verse, that he—

"was a stranger to his worthynesse."

The poem would probably be written about 1576, soon after the Earl's decease in Ireland. The imputation against Leicester of having unfairly caused Essex's death in order to marry his wife, the beautiful, and afterwards, long-lived Lettice Knolles, is not alluded to in this epitaph. Yet the charge was early made, officially inquired into by Sir Henry Sidney, and occupied of course a conspicuous place in "Leycester's Commonwealth.' The volour, generosity, and openness of character, which rendered the two first Earls of Essex so dear to the English people, was faithfully represented by the sorrowing Hurlton to Chaloner, as the characteristics of his late commander.

We could have wished, in thus conveying grief in lines of sixteen syllables, Chaloner had arrived at a more musical cadence, and left us the usual power of breaking each line into two. But his pauses render this a matter of difficulty and undesirable, and we conclude the dragging this slow length along is supposed to be congenial to the mournful occasion.

He had a face by fortune fram'd to lure no lack of love,
Who can come fourthe and saie he lackt his right that did him prove?
Who ever knew a nobleman that had more courtesie,
Who ever saw a man like moved in cases of extremitie
In Justice chair like Dove he sate where mercy should redound,
In broyles he bore the braynes of Mars, whose Vallar did abound,
In hart he had bold Hectors might, or Cesars mynd withall,

* * * * *

For he of gould makes no account but throwes it everywhere
To them that doth by merytt want, or any worth appear,
The golden gyftes hee gave to guestes, a world of worthies waune
Lyke him since brut did Bryttaine breed in bountie sutch a man?
No! no! he hath not left behynd none sutche a one as he,
That leafte behynd a fertile soil in bloodie broyles to be,
To winne his countrie fame did he this loathesome soil imbrace,
And not by Coninges craft, for goulde or luker of the place.
Farewell of Essex noble Earle, as mylde as was the dove,
Whose princelie port, & pleasant speech, didst purchase peoples love—

* * * * * *

A noble souldier form'd by kynd thus mutch to him is right,
By open crie of every man that sawe him serve in sight,
He kept a house & householde francke in all the countries wheare,
He did abyde, as men would saie, some prince was placed there,
Like bees the worthie souldiers swarm'd about his howses gate,
He was a lanthorn of great light, & miror of the state.

Love and death, metrical billets doux, sonnets, and epitaphs, did not entirely absorb the versifying powers of the citizens of Chester, good advice was conveyed in rhyme. At folio 10 we have "a coppie of a few lynnes "which were wrytt upon the backside of a booke, wrytt by T. C. for good "Counsell to A. S. a yonge wyddow by a brother, which booke was gyven "by the name of a glasse for a fairing—fin: T. C. 1576 June 20"—

In March, 1577, Chaloner addressed A. P. (Ann Percival ?) in eight stanzas, beginning—

The hart I have in holde
and Cheast, ys none of myne,
The hart thou hast, & feel'st,
in breast is none of thyne.

There are twelve stanzas headed "Sydanen," and signed Jo. Lloyd, beginnning—

Flee Statelie Juno Samos fro
From Delos straight Diana goe,
Minerva Athens must forsake
Sydanen Queen your state must take,
Sydanen conquers, &c.

Perhaps the most surprising specimen of affectation is contained in the "poem, in which a friend who styles himself Tuus dum suus semper et "ubique unus, Rod: Nelson," takes leave for apparently a short absence—

Oh brother Challoner, the powers divine
All hevelie hevelie wofully mourning,
Not one but all this person may guyde,
All hevelie hevelie wofully wandering,
And wheresoever my bodye remayns,
My hart with thine, till dethe shall abyde,
With sorrowful sighing,
Farewell my delighting,
Untill my returning againe.

And thus it proceeds through several stanzas.

At folio 41 there is a poem entitled (J. F.?) in the behaulfe of T. C.'s present calamytie, 1577, Julii, "we think Chaloner is the author, as it bears his signature.

And lyke the witlesse dogge that bytes the hurled stone
We curse the harme, & let the hurlinge hande alone.
I speake by proofe, I pine through inward wooe
I rive my wounde, but like the hands that strike,
I hate my harme, and love my friendly foe,
That most I mynde that makes me most mislyke
And though I feel, and see, that venom'd is my meate,
I cannot stay desire of hunger bid me eate.

In folio 38 is an exceedingly spirited poem, with which we shall close our remarks. It is Chaloner's lament at losing a lady whom he had courted, and who had married another, apparently a friend, who suddenly returning after long absence was entrusted with Chaloner's confidence, who undertaking to advance his suit, had made good his own. The difficulty of the situation in being no longer either allowed to love or to complain, a married lady being the cause of his disappointment, is forcibly given, and throughout there is an earnestness of expression which is highly poetical. The poem, like several others, is dated from Knowsley, and is entitled "Wherein is shewed that parting causeth paine." At the conclusion is written—"fyn pr T. Challoner ano: 1577 apud Knowsley pr Anne ——," the name being scratched through with a pen.

Since fancie first me fetered
In Cupid's chaine being caught,
Where bewtie brave me batered,
Repulse agaynst avayl'd me naught;
Yet wisdome warn'd me very playne,
To shune the showe that showde in vayne.

My frendes full ofte did warne me still
In gentle and in angree sort,
That time at once my love wolde spill,
And change good will to ill report,
And wisdome will'd me to refrayne
The proffers that would prove but vayne.

If any man wolde aske mee nowe
How growes the greatest greife that is?
Let him goe string Sir Cupides bow
With leave to shoot, & marke to mys;
And wynne of game eitche shott but one,
Which onlye makes the game alone.

I had the whirlinge wynd at will,
I had all oddes uppon my syde,
I had the game, the upp shott till,
I had the upp shott not far wyde,
Yet lost I all for want of straight,
Such falsehoode founde my fancies frayghte.

If that was greife to loose the game,
And loose as well the fame thereof,
Say now was fortune not to blame,
To yelde mee sutche a soddaine scoffe?
The greatest greife that growes is this
To part from that wee may not mys.

Why doithe hee lyve that Longe was deade?
How doith my fate with fancy frame?
Why doith dame Nature geave him bread,
That strainge & falslie chaing'd his name?
Why did Dame love mee lure thus Longe,
And suffer tyme to doe mee wronge?

What meane the maides of fatalls three,
To drawe sutch length of evill thread?
Where wisdome now erepteth mee,
From her whereon I onlie bred,
Dame tyme in tyme with truth shall try,
That my true hart shall never wrye.

What tho' my corps may not Imbrace,
That hart that myne by justice is?
My eyes must not behold her face
What tho' my mynd shall never miss?
But love I will, who so say naye,
And love I must, but as I maye.

I hover still good happ to have,
& hope the best, whilst yet I lyve,
God graunt me then the guyfte I crave,
So shall I have, as I do geave,
A faythfull hart in pledge of all,
Welcome to mee as God send shall!

FOURTH MEETING.

Collegiate Institution, 10th February, 1853.

J. W. WHITEHEAD, ESQ., in the Chair.

PROCEEDINGS.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Certificates of three Candidates for Membership were read for the first time.

The following gentlemen were duly elected:—

R. W. Anderson, 23, Falkner Square, Liverpool.
Pudsey Dawson, Hornby Castle, Lancashire.
Jesse Hartley, Derby Road, Bootle.
John Bernard Hartley, Aigburth.
Robert Platt, Dean Water, Prestbury.
Thomas Wood, Blue Coat Hospital, Liverpool.

The following DONATIONS to the Society were laid upon the table:—

1. From the *Societies*.

Archæologia Cambrensis, No. xiii., second series.

Vol. ii., of the publications of the Chester Architectural Archæological and Historic Society.

The publications of the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society, for 1852.

2. From the *Author*.

Two copies of a description of Holme's Chapel, Cheshire, by T. W. Barlow, F.L.S.

3. From *other* Donors.

Charles Roach Smith, F.S.A. — Catalogue of the Kerrich Collection of Roman Coins, now in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries.

R. Rawlinson, Esq.	Two copies of the Preliminary Report of the Board of Health, respecting Chorley.
Dr. Kendrick.	Lithographs, illustrative of the celebrated Winwick Oak. Its branches extended 29 yards in one direction, and 33 in another; and 150 gentlemen dined beneath it, on the 26th of August, 1811.
James Boardman, Esq.	Representation of Liverpool in 1600.
Rev. H. Tudsbury Turner.	The Primitive Episcopal Prayer Book, as used in Liverpool.
John Grindlay, Esq.	Gore's Directory for 1777.
	The Globe newspaper for May 5th, 1807.
	Broadside containing despatches of Sep. 12th, 1799.
	A Form of Prayer for the success of His Majesty's Arms, and for Peace, on a General Fast Day, 1780.
	A Form of Prayer used at the General Fast of 28th February, 1794.

The following articles were EXHIBITED :—

By E. Benn, Esq., of Vauxhall Distillery.	A double pointed stone hammer, six inches long.
	A striated stone ball, the size of a melon, supposed to have been used in warfare, at the end of a pole, like the Morning Star of the North.
By Dr. Kendrick.	A bronze axe-head, 6¾ inches long.
	A stone malleus, which had been used as a door-weight.
By R. H. Brackstone, Esq., London.	The three-legged Roman pot of bronze, found near Carlisle, and shown some time ago in the Arcade of this town.
By James Boardman, Esq.	Three autograph letters of F. D. Brown, (Mrs. Hemans,) addressed to her earliest patron, Mr. Matthew Nicholson, of Liverpool. They are dated respectively 28th August, 1809, 11th August, 1810, and 17th July, 1811.
By Major-General the Hon. Sir Edward Cust, K.C.H.	A MS. book, thick folio, the property of Lord Crewe.
By Joseph Mayer, F.S.A.	A curiously constructed clock with two dials on the front, indicating 60 parts repeated four times; and a recessed dial marked with

ten divisions, dividing the day into four parts of six hours each. It was made by Tompion, of London, who died during the great plague of 1666.

A very beautiful bronze head, of Greek workmanship, representing Minerva helmeted; it was found near Mayence.

A bronze fibula, found at the Roman camp of Chesterton, near Newcastle-under-Lyne.

A string of coloured beads, found in a Merovingian grave in France.

An illuminated missal of the fourteenth century, ornamented with exquisitely drawn miniatures as its initial letters.

By Dr. Hume. Ulster Journal of Archæology; 1st number, containing a Review of the Historic Society's fourth volume.

By C. B. Robinson, Esq. Dr. Blackmore's Poem of Prince Arthur, fol. 1696.

By J. W. Whitehead, Esq. A piece of copper, 9¼ inches by 8¼, with the corners cut off, weighing 6lbs. 4oz., and stamped at the corners and in the centre. It was issued in Sweden by Frederick, after the country had been exhausted of the coin by the wars of Charles XII. It remained in circulation till 1777, when it was decreed that it should pass no longer as coin but be sold for its market value. Pieces of this description were coined of the value of 4, 3, 2, 1½, 1, ¾, and ½ a dollar silver currency, the silver dollar being three times the value of a copper dollar.

Also in contrast with this, a Russian copper coin, an English twopenny piece, a farthing, and a half-farthing.

By J. Stonehouse, Esq. Two figures carved in soft stone, apparently husband and wife, but separate, and very peculiar in their position and ornaments. They appear to be of Maltese workmanship.

A wooden model of a salt factory; plan of a salt district; section of a salt mine; and numerous specimens of salt;—as illustrative of his own paper.

Dr. Hume explained briefly the nature of the book exhibited by Sir E. Cust. It was said to treat of "the Stafford Family in Cheshire," whereas it

referred to the Lords Stafford of Staffordshire; the fortunes of whose family were among the most eventful in history. It was a copy made in the latter years of Queen Elizabeth, of documents which were dated in general in the early years of Henry VIII. Dr. Hume discovered between the leaves, an original letter dated 18th March, 1614, written by a steward or factor to a gentleman named Offley, a paternal ancestor of Lord Crewe, who then possessed part of the Stafford estates. In it he refers to this very book, then well known, for a true copy of certain patents and grants.

Dr. Hume also read one of the letters of F. D. Brown (Mrs. Hemans).

A communication was read from Thomas Moore, sen., Esq., mentioning with regret the demolition of certain family pews, in the recent alterations of St. Nicholas' Church. From time immemorial they had belonged to the Bank-Hall Estate, and were specially mentioned in the deed of conveyance to the Earl of Derby, in 1724.

The Diploma which Mr. Mayer holds as Honorary Member of an Antiquarian Society in France having been shown by the Secretary, it was resolved unanimously, that the Council be directed to procure a design for a Diploma for the Historic Society.

PAPERS.

I.—Salt, and its Manufacture in Cheshire.

By James Stonehouse.

As there is scarcely any article in common use which presents itself to notice in so many interesting points of view as the simple but precious mineral salt, and as it enters so generally into our food, and is of such value for manufacturing as well as agricultural purposes, it may not be considered undeserving of our particular attention, especially as the neighbouring county from which part of the title of our Society is taken, is famous throughout the world for its brine pits, salt mines, and works.

We find in the Bible that salt is spoken of frequently. In Genesis xix., 26, it is first introduced to notice in the fate of Lot's wife. In Leviticus ii., 13, where meat offerings are spoken of, it is a special command that salt should be used. "And every oblation of thy meat offering shalt thou season with salt: neither shalt thou suffer the salt of the Covenant of thy God to be lacking from thy meat offering. With all thine offerings thou shalt offer salt." Salt is also referred to as symbolical of barrenness, alluding to the salt plains on the desert, where no grass is to be found growing, or, if appearing, in a very impoverished state.

The Greeks held salt like the Israelites in high estimation—they mixed it up with cakes used in their religious ceremonies and at their sacrificial altars.

In the 9th Book of the Iliad, line 282, we find it spoken of as "sacred salt." The term "sacred" or "divine" arose no doubt from its property in arresting dissolution and preventing corruption. Lycophron, the Greek poet, says, "Thou must reverence the sea;" and this is thought to be the reason why Venus is said to have sprung from the ocean.

The Romans freely made use of salt. Horace and other writers frequently allude to it. Salt was considered efficacious in all cases of infectious disorders, and was applied by sprinkling brine with an olive branch, wherever contagion prevailed.

Thus, in salt used by the ancients two remarkable circumstances present themselves to our notice. One, that Jews, Greeks, and Romans, considered it of such importance that they used it alike in all their religious ceremonies; while in the custom of the Romans employing it where contagion and death had been present, we trace perhaps the origin of placing a plate of salt on the breast of a corpse as a powerful antiseptic.

Besides being regarded as sacred, salt was esteemed as a symbol of endurance and attachment by the people of yore, as well as a sign of compact, no doubt from its indestructibility. It was considered that when once a guest had partaken of salt beneath a roof, his person was inviolate however he might abuse the trust confided in him. Mr. Lane in his translation of "The Thousand and One Nights," gives a curious illustration of the reverence of the Easterns towards the eating of salt in another man's house. In this case, a robber had penetrated into the palace of Dirhem the Governor of Seestan, and in the dark, having tasted a piece of salt which he had picked up from the floor, he actually withdrew without his booty, from his regard to the rites of hospitality and custom.

We are told by De la Beche that salt in its mineral state is not found in the oldest stratified rocks, but that it appears in all the most recent formations. Here is a remarkable instance of the goodness of the Almighty, demonstrating his thoughtfulness of man in providing for his wants. Before man's creation, in the world's earliest infancy, we may suppose that salt was not necessary, but knowing man's need for it, it appeared at the

necessary time. Salt seems to be found everywhere: in the bowels of the earth, on the mountain top, and in the wide waste of the ever-rolling waters. In Peru we find it 7000 feet above the sea. In Cheshire we find it 330 feet below the earth's surface. In Karamania, where the air is highly rarefied and dry, the people use salt in blocks, with which they build their houses. The Island of Ormus, in the Persian Gulf, is said to be composed of one entire mass of salt. Laborde describes the appearance of a mountain, near Cardona, in Spain, which is nearly all salt, to be one of the most magnificent spectacles the eye of man can rest upon, when illuminated by the morning sun. This mountain is 500 feet high. There are extensive salt mines near Burgos. At Wielitska, near Cracow, the mines have been constantly worked for five hundred years; in fact, Cracow itself rests upon salt mines. At one place in Syria, Fuller tells us, salt is manufactured so beautifully white that he calls the locality "the Nantwich of Palestine." The salt mines of Hallein chiefly supply Upper Austria, the Tyrol, and Western Bohemia. Those of Gallicia, Hungary, and Transylvania, supply the remaining portion of the Empire. Scotland cannot boast of salt formations; and it was thought, until very lately, that Ireland was also destitute in this particular; but recent discoveries have shown that there is a very valuable, and as it is supposed, extensive rock salt deposit at Carrickfergus, on the estate of the Marquis of Downshire.

In America there are several places where there are extensive salt deposits. They are found in Arkansas; on both sides of the Rocky Mountains, in the Alleghany mountains, and in the valley of the Ohio and the Missouri. The salt works at Onondaga are the most profitable in the States. The brine springs of America are very numerous, and are called "Salt Licks," or "Deer Licks," from the numbers of deer and other animals resorting periodically to them. Animals generally are passionately fond of salt. Sheep particularly relish it. Birds have also a strong predilection for it. Pigeons may be attached to any place where they can have free access to it. At the Deer Licks, flocks of these birds are constantly seen hovering. In the Monthly Magazine for 1810, it is stated that the celebrated Cheltenham springs were actually discovered by the resorting of numerous flocks of doves to the spot. It was thought at one period that Africa was utterly without salt deposits, but there have been lately discoveries, beyond Caffraria, of one or two large salt lakes. There are also salt deposits on both sides of the Atlas mountains. In Abyssinia, travellers speak of a salt plain of

"four days' journey." Mungo Park, however, and other travellers, remark upon the scarcity and even absence of salt in the parts of Africa which they explored. Park in particular notices its rarity in one district or region, so as to become subject for a saying when a man's station in life was mentioned; if he were wealthy, that "he eats salt with his food," and Park also says that he has seen "children sucking a piece of salt as a luxurious dainty, as one of our children would a piece of sugar-candy."

While we find salt presented to us in its mineral state, we must for one instant turn to the boundless ocean, which were it not for its saltness and its restlessness would become a curse instead of a blessing to mankind. That the sea is salter in some parts than others is a well-known fact. Its saltness is much less towards the poles than it is under the equator. The Southern ocean contains more salt than the Northern in the ratio of 102919, to 102757 where the sea is deepest and most remote from the land, while its saltness is diminished where there are great masses of ice. Inland seas, though communicating with the ocean, are much less charged with saline matter than the open ocean, but the Mediterranean is said to contain rather more salt than the ocean. The sea is also salter at the top than at the bottom; and this is established by the fact that if a bottle hermetically sealed be lowered to a great depth it will be brought up full of pure water, or water nearly so. The average strength of salt in sea water may be estimated as one-thirtieth of its own weight.

Dr. Halley has endeavoured to account for the saltness of the sea by ascribing it to the soluble substances which are incessantly washed into it by rivers, which, he states, in their utmost purity nevertheless contain some portion of saline matter. The watery parts being constantly evaporated add to the density of the briny portions, the latter not being a volatile subject, the stock is being constantly added to. Other scientific men imagine that as in the earth there are large deposits of salt, so at the bottom of the ocean there are also immense tracts of salt formations, which by continual washings contribute to the briny state of the ocean. The mode of making salt from sea water in places where only brine-springs exist, may now be briefly mentioned. As may be supposed, salt is largely extracted from the ocean yearly. By reason of slow solar evaporation the crystals from sea water are much larger than those produced by the agency of artificial heat. Sea or Bay salt is also considered stronger and purer than salt from a mineral spring. As early as the 12th century abbeys were endowed with salt works.

Holyrood was endowed by David I. It had salt pans at Airth, near the head of the Firth of Forth, where the remains of some salt pans still, I believe, exist. The mode of making it was greatly improved in the time of Queen Mary. Mary brought over with her in her train from France some French salt makers, to whom she granted an exclusive right to manufacture it, and who introduced some important and improved methods in so doing. These privileges they enjoyed until the time of Charles II.* At one period there were in the Firth of Forth and the Solway, at Ruthwell, numerous salt works, where the manufacture was extensively carried on. It was calculated that about 1,300 gallons of sea water produced from 16 to 20 bushels of salt, of 56 lbs. each, every twenty-four hours. The downfall of the Scotch manufacture may be attributed to two causes. It received on two occasions deadly blows—one at the Union, which may be said to have prostrated it—the other on the repeal of the duty, which annihilated it while in that condition.

The best sea salt is brought from St. Ubes, in Portugal, a specimen of which is exhibited. It is of great purity and strength. There is not much brought to this country, the low price of salt here giving no encouragement to shippers.

The mode of manufacturing sea or "bay salt," as it is called, is nearly every where as follows. The ground near the sea is banked up to prevent its being overflooded at high water. The space between the walls is divided into compartments which successively communicate with each other. At flood tide, the first compartment is filled with sea water. Here it is allowed to remain until the impurities have settled: the water is then run off into another tank, and here as in the first instance, the aqueous portions of the fluid are evaporated. After remaining some time the liquor is again run off into another but shallower compartment lined with clay well rammed down. At this stage of the process, the water is brought to such a state that from the solar evaporation which has taken place, a crust

* The rich salt mines of Cheshire, which have added so much to the commercial prosperity of Liverpool since the river Weaver was rendered navigable, and since the coal-fields of Lancashire were connected with the salt district of Cheshire, had little effect in promoting that prosperity in the time of the Stuarts. Owing to the dearness of fuel in the heart of Cheshire, and the difficulty of getting the salt down to the coast, the foreign salt-trade scarcely existed in Cheshire. It was then confined to Newcastle-on-Tyne, and those parts of the valley of the Forth where the coal strata reach the sea. In 1635 Sir William Brereton, whose family was engaged in the salt-trade, visited Newcastle, and has recorded that there was more salt made there than at any place in England—*Baines.*

has been formed on the surface, which is then broken by the workmen and raked to the sides, with wooden rakes. On some of the coasts of France, and also of China, salt is produced from sea sand steeped in salt water, after which it is evaporated in boilers. In Holland there are many extensive salt works or refineries. The principal are be found near Zwyndrecht, near Dort. Vast quantities of rock salt are annually shipped from Liverpool for the use of these works. The amount may be taken at 20,000 tons. Last year a great alteration was made in the management of the excise duty on salt in Holland, in consequence of the frauds perpetrated. Rock salt can now be bonded and taken out when required by the refiner, by paying a duty of 9 gueldres 11 cents per 100 Netherlands' pounds, that is £7 10s. per ton of 20 cwt. Some years ago, there were twenty-nine salt works at Lymington in Hampshire, and the Isle of Wight, where sea salt was evaporated by solar evaporation, as well as by fire. In some parts of France, where brine springs are to be found, the salt is manufactured in a peculiar way. In Bakewell's travels in Tarentaine a full account of the process is given. Another process is described by Bakewell as invented by a Savoyard named Battel, in which the concentrative process is exhibited by an arrangement of cords, down which the brine runs from troughs, falling drop by drop. In Russia, salt is obtained by freezing the sea water. The ice being removed, the brine remains in a highly concentrated state, and it is then evaporated by boiling; the brine solution separating as it were into two parts, the pure water becoming solid ice, and the salt water remaining in a liquid state.

The saline springs spread over England are very numerous; the greater part of them are however of a medicinal nature, and in most cases they do not yield a sufficient body of salt to remunerate any one to manufacture from them, especially those in parts where fuel is expensive, from remoteness to the coal districts.

The manufacture of salt in Cheshire is of very remote date. We find by the earliest historical records that when the Romans obtained a footing in Britain and overran this part of it, they found the ancient Britons manufacturing salt by pouring brine upon faggots of charcoal, from which they scraped off the crystals as they formed. The Gauls and Germans also made it this way; and it is a very singular circumstance that amongst some barbarous nations of the present day the same process is in operation. We have proof that this was the practice of the ancient Britons, because por-

tions of charred wood, with the crystals attached thereto, are said to have been dug up in great quantities in the neighbourhood of Nantwich, which, in the Roman time, was a great place for the manufacture of salt. And these faggots, or pieces of charred wood, exhibited the marks of antiquity, while corroborative circumstances proved their origin and use. The salt produced by this very primitive plan was of course very dirty and discoloured, being mixed with ashes and other impurities. When the Britons observed the mode of their Roman conquerors, and noticed its obvious superiority, they at once abandoned their own mode and adopted it, calling the salt so produced from its whiteness "Heleddwen." It is somewhat remarkable that since the time of the Romans, little or no alteration has taken place in the manner of manufacturing the article. Within the last twenty-five years, there have been many attempts made to increase the the quantity made from the quantity of fuel consumed, but no other way of obtaining salt has been discovered except by evaporation.

Nantwich was evidently held in considerable esteem for its brine springs by the ancient Britons, who called it Hellath-Wen, or the place of the White Brine Pit. Northwich was called Hellath-du, or the Black Brine Pit. Camden says that in his time the Wallers drew up the brine from a pit in leathern buckets. The access to the pit was by a flight of stone steps. He says that "the Northwich brine is sharp and strong beyond any other." At one period at Nantwich there were some persons in authority, termed the *Rulers* of *Walling*—they were annually elected by the jury out of the most substantial occupiers of Walling, who were the guardians of the salt springs, and entrusted to set the price of salt and to limit the times of making according to known customs, which they were sworn to uphold. These *rulers* of *Wallling* had authority "to order an equal division of the brine to the several owners of the Wich-houses; rooms for stowage of wood were provided even to an inch; they were to have a continual care and circumspection, lest these pits should be deprived of any old rites and duties, or that the salt springs should receive mixture or prejudice from fresh springs, or other nuisances; all which and more is included in the term Walling." The Romans also manufactured salt to a considerable extent at Northwich. The road formed there by these industrious people gave great facilities for its transport into the interior.

The word "wich," which we find so frequently appended to the names

of towns* is Saxon, and signifies "salt," showing that salt has been at some time or another made thereabout.

In the time of the Saxon Heptarchy, the salt springs of Cheshire and Worcestershire were in operation; the King and Earl Edwin divided between them the toll levied upon all salt made. Of this toll the king took two-thirds, the Earl one-third. Hence we have the term now in use of "Royalty Rent," which is a rent, however, not now paid to the king, but to the owners of Brine Springs; these supply the manufacturers who have no springs of their own. The royalty rent at Winsford is 6d. per ton, subject besides to a ground rent for the land. Lord Stanley charges 1s. per ton to his tenants. The ground rent ranges from £150 to £200 per annum. Earl Edwin appears to have possessed large salt works at Aghton, whence he supplied his household free of toll. But on all salt sold and carried away, the toll was duly exacted and paid. Matthew Paris says that "when Henry III. waged war with the Welsh, he stopped the manufacture of the salt works in Cheshire, nor allowed them to be used again until the war was over."

In Domesday Book the toll upon salt is mentioned as a considerable item of revenue, indeed, it is somewhat remarkable that in most countries where salt is made, it is set up as a sort of governmental milch cow, from which a fruitful source of profit may be derived. We find that the Romans paid a heavy duty upon salt, as well as other nations of antiquity. In Germany, and indeed all over the continent, the saline cow is well milked. In India, the revenue which the East India Company derives from the salt duty and from its manufacture, is enormous. By one return it is shewn that, in the ten years from 1835 to 1845, the receipts were from £900,000 to a million sterling, annually. In this country, from 1796 to 1825 we had a saline cow of our own which yielded a duty of, at first in 1796, 12s. per bushel or £20 per ton. This duty was raised in 1806 to 15s. per bushel or £30 per ton, and so it continued until 1825, when this obnoxious impost was totally repealed. In 1801 Mr. Vansittart devoted much attention to the repeal of the salt duties. At that time a committee was granted to enquire into the subject. This committee reported the salt duties as being highly detrimental and demoralizing to the public, to a degree far exceeding the value of the payment of the tax itself. In 1816 another movement was made,

* Leland says salt at one time was manufactured at Shotwick, near Neston, and that it should be spelt Shotwich. If salt were made here, it could only be by evaporation from sea water as at Garston.

and considerable agitation took place on the subject, especially in this town. As before stated, the tax was not removed until 1825. The subject of the Indian salt trade is one so closely connected with the interests of Liverpool, that it is to be regretted that space will not admit of ample information being given relative to it. It will be remembered that next year the Charter of the East India Company will have to be renewed, and it remains to be seen whether the Cheshire salt makers, the merchants of Liverpool, and the manufacturers of Manchester and elsewhere, will submit to the present iniquitous monopoly, which, while it shuts out British interests in India, stands in the way like a wall of adamant against progress, and the best wishes and hopes of philanthropists. The salt monopoly is frightful in its tendencies, and calls aloud for entire abolition. The poor and oppressed natives of India, who although only earning, as some of them do, 36s. a year, have actually to pay 2d. per lb. for salt; an article so conducive to health and necessary to human life. The salt monopoly of India keeps down the spirit of improvement in the native Indian, and prevents him from progressing in intellect with the rest of the world. This may seem a strange assertion to make, but it can readily be proved. While we allow to the European from 18 lbs. to 22 lbs. of salt per year, as necessary, the native of Hindostan can procure but 12 lbs. as computed by the Board of Salt itself, and when it is considered how insipid is the food used in India, and the only sort procurable by these poor people, we may readily believe that salt must be of vital importance to make that insipid food palatable. The East India Company, with a sort of fictitious show of philanthrophy, regulates the price of salt so that the native shall not be overcharged and cheated. This supposititious tenderness can be exemplified both by facts and figures.

In Domesday Book three places are mentioned as producing great quantities of salt in Cheshire, viz:—Wich in Warmendstrew hundred or Nantwich, *Aliud Wich* in Middlewich hundred, that is Middlewich, and Norwich or Northwich in the hundred of that name.

In the time of Edward the Confessor the Nantwich salt springs were farmed out at 21s. When Hugh Lupus took possession of this part of the country, there was only one salt pit in operation, which was granted to William Malvedery, Baron of Nantwich, at a rent of £10, although the whole hundred was valued at only 22s.

In Leland's time, 1544, the Nantwich works seem to have been flourish-

ing, as he says that, "Wherefore there be at Nanptwich one brine spring so abundant, that there be 111 salters." It seems that in his time the brine was evaporated in lead pans, the fire being raised by what was called "wich wood," of which there were large plantations in the vicinity, whence the owners of such plantations derived a goodly revenue. In King's Vale Royal, which was written in 1656 by Daniel King, we find the following stated, "that Robert Needham had found out a *Seth* (that is, a brine pit) by the Weaver at Boddington, and on the other side in the lands of Sir Thomas Smith, in the lordship of Hatherton, whence they have taken a more profitable way of making salt, in pans of iron to which they put coals, the common fewel of the country. By this the salt is made cheaper than by using lead pans with wood fewel, which old way, notwithstanding, the boilers in the wiches will maintain to be the best." We also find a further description written by William Smith, who was Rouge Dragon Poursuivant, "Here at this town (Nantwich) is great store of white salt made: it hath one salt spring (which they call a brine pit) standing hard upon the Weaver, from whence they carry the brine to the wich houses, saving such houses as stand on the other side of the river. Within the said houses are great barrels set deep into the earth which are all filled with salt water, and when the bell ringeth they begin to make fire under the leads. Every house, that is wich house, hath six leads, wherein they seethe the said salt water, and as it seethes, the wallers (which are commonly women) do with a wooden rake gather the salt from the bottom, which they put into a long basket of wicker, which they call a salt barrow, and so the water voideth and the salt remaineth."

Connected with the salt trade of old, there were many rights and privileges which I dare not, for time's sake, enlarge upon. But at Middlewich it seems, at one period, the purchasers from the other hundreds had the toll upon salt doubled, and any one overloading his cart so that the axle-tree or his horse's back broke, was fined 2s., if either gave way within one mile of the spring. Religious observances were not wanting either, in connexion with the making of salt, for amongst other ceremonies and customs which were prevalent of old, we find that on Ascension day a procession was formed to a prolific spring called "*The Biat*," near Nantwich, when the spring head was decorated with flowers, and a prayer offered up for a continued plentiful flowing of the brine, as well as a hymn of thanksgiving to Almighty God for the byegone profitable supply. This ceremony

was called "the Blessing of the Brine." The custom of blessing the brine may have had its origin in some old Roman or Saxon ceremonies handed down to us, somewhat altered from the originals, but still bearing traces of them in some of its features. The Germans, in some parts, have an idea that a prayer offered up at a brine spring is certain of being acceptable. Nor are we of this day free from superstition respecting salt, as the act of spilling it is considered to be very unlucky. The ancient and well-known custom of placing the salt at table to mark the station of those assembled round the hospitable board, requires only a mere allusion to it. Amongst many curious superstitions relating to salt, a little of it sprinkled on the cover of an old bible is considered a certain protection against evil spirits. In Scotland, in some parts, it is considered necessary to ensure good luck on entering a new house or fresh tenanting an old one, to strew the floors with salt. Many Scotch people have a notion that eating too much salt has a tendency to darken the complexion. There are many other curious customs and superstitions connected with it.

The salt works scattered over the United Kingdom may be thus enumerated:—In Cheshire there are 60, Staffordshire 2, Worcestershire 13, Durham 2, and Lancashire 1. These 78 works produce annually 800,000 tons of salt. The pannage may be calculated at 100,000 feet, and the amount of money invested in the machinery, pans, flats, barges, &c., may be estimated at one and a half millions sterling, while employment is provided for upwards of 6,000 men. The value of the Cheshire salt works may be reckoned at £500,000. Of the salt manufactured in England, one-half is exported to the United States, the Canadas, the Baltic, and the fisheries in the north of Ireland and Scotland. The remainder is consumed for household purposes, alkali works, manufacturing and agricultural purposes.*

It is said that the Tyne alone absorbs 70,000 tons yearly, in its alkali works.

The total quantity of salt made at Winsford in 1851, was 331,657 tons; in 1852, 358,456½ tons. At Northwich in 1851, 283,013 tons; and in 1852, 232,957 tons; making a total in the last year of 591,413½ tons.

* It may be briefly mentioned that Napier, the inventor of logarithms, two centuries ago suggested the use of salt as a manure, and strangely enough, about the same period, 1596, King James of Scotland threatened to destroy Edinburgh and sow it with salt, as a punishment to the inhabitants for their riotous behaviour.

Of this quantity, about 500,000 tons are brought to Liverpool yearly for shipment. Now when we consider this large quantity passing as it were through our hands, the salt trade may be considered as one of no small importance to the port of Liverpool; affording, not only employment to numbers of men, but also to the shipping of the port.

The salt trade as carried on at present cannot be said to be a remunerative one. The mode of making salt is so simple, and comparatively speaking, requires so little capital, that the manufacture of it is in many hands, and these must go on producing and selling, or stop their works. The consequence is, that more salt is forced into the market than can be profitably disposed of, and, it is a fact, that frequently rock salt has been at a higher price than the manufactured article; for this reason, that the proprietors of the rock mines being few in number, have been enabled to agree amongst themselves as to the quantity to be delivered, according to the demand, so that a remunerative price for the raw material could be obtained. When the duty was levied on Salt, as it was paid at the seat of manufacture, it required a large capital to carry on the business, the trade was therefore in fewer hands, and consequently highly profitable. To shew the amount of available capital that must have been required, it may be instanced, that one party alone paid £33,000 duty in the course of six weeks. When the duty was levied it was paid at the works, and the salt was re-weighed at Liverpool under Excise supervision, if the flat weighed short the proprietor had to make up the deficiency, and if over, that overplus salt was seized.

From a statement shewn me by a gentleman connected with this trade, I find that some of the present Cheshire salt works have been in existence thirty, forty, fifty, and sixty years, while one work dates one hundred years back. A curious record that would be, which would shew the "ups" and "downs" the trade has suffered during this period.

A salt work may be thus briefly described. It consists, first, of a reservoir, into which the brine is pumped from the spring. Secondly, there are the pans, into which the brine is conveyed by means of pipes from the reservoir. Thirdly, the furnaces which heat the brine. Fourthly, hot houses for stoving the salt; and, fifthly, store houses for storing the salt, previous to its being transmitted to its destination. The average size of a salt pan is 40 feet long, 24 feet wide, and 15 inches deep. A salt work

of average extent, will produce about 250 tons of salt per week, each pan turning out 25 tons per week, and requiring the attendance of two men, who are paid at the rate of 2s. 9d. per day. At Northwich there may be about 1,500 men employed, of whom three-fourths work the day through, and one-fourth the night. It is somewhat curious, that in seething the brine, at times the crystals will not form. In this case, the workmen throw into the pan a little oil (at one time butter was used,) or calves' feet reduced to a jelly. This oleaginous application immediately spreads over the surface of the pan, and a scum arises which appears to be the result of a purification of the brine, as after this scum is taken off, the crystals commence forming. I may here remark, that salt is always found in cubes, even in its most minute particles, as may be observed in the specimens now exhibited. There are three or four kinds of salt made. Bay salt is very large grained. This is made by slow evaporation at a temperature of 110 degrees. Common salt, which is coarse grained, is produced at a heat of 175 degrees. Stoved, or fine table salt, at 220 degrees. The last description of salt is put into boxes from the pans, whence it is transferred to stoves, and there consolidated and dried in the course of five or six days.

It is a most interesting and curious sight to see the salt forming into crystals at the top of the brine. They commence in small cubes, and gradually increase, until their density carries them to the bottom of the pan. The residuum at the bottom of the pan, which causes great wear and tear, is a hard crust called pan scratch or pan bake. As the salt forms and falls, it is raked to the sides of the pans, and piled on to the barrows, as they are called, at the sides, where it is allowed to drain; which drainage is not wasted, as by means of pipes the brine returns to the pans, where it is again put under process of evaporation. After the salt has been sufficiently drained, it is removed to the stove house, and stoved according to quality and texture.

The brine at Northwich and Winsford is considered to be of the best quality. It is charged with saline matter to the amount of 25 per cent. of its own weight. The brine is found at a depth of 150 feet, and occasionally flows within 40 feet of the surface. The coal used at the Cheshire works is from Wigan and St. Helens, and is termed "Burgey," and costs the manufacturer 8s. per ton. On the return of the flats from Liverpool, they call at St. Helens Gap Railway, and there load with coal. The Wigan coal is brought from that district in canal boats, which return loaded

with salt inland to Manchester and elsewhere. The quantity of coal used in the manufacture of salt may be taken in these proportions:—two tons of coal to produce three tons of fine or table salt, and one ton of coal to produce two tons of common salt. In the manufacture of salt, it is quite obvious that the more salt that can be produced by the employment of any given quantity of coal, the more profitable must be that manufacture. The prices of salt may now be estimated at 3s. 6d. per ton for rock salt, 6s. and 7s. for common salt, 10s. and 11s. per ton for stoved or fine, and 18s. for bay. This is exclusive of the freight upon salt sent to Liverpool, which is 3s. per ton, and which sum is thus divided. The Weaver dues, for the use of the navigation are 1s. per ton, of this a word or two presently. The master of the flat takes 1s. 3d. for working the flat. Out of this he pays the wages of one man and a boy, and haulage from Weston Point to Northwich or Winsford. To Northwich the charge is 15s. for a horse, and 5s. for a man to assist. If a gang of men are employed, they are paid at the rate of 5s. per man. As with the hauling by horse, the amount covers the trip to Northwich and back. The passage, or voyage if it may be so termed, occupies upon an average, going up light, five and a half hours, while eight or nine hours are occupied in the downward journey. The passage from Runcorn to Liverpool occupies three or four hours. Returning light, of course less time. The further the distance up the Weaver, necessarily the cost of haulage is greater. Having thus accounted for 2s. 3d. of the freight, it remains only to be said that the 9d. balance is paid to the flat owner for the use of his barge.

So intimately connected is the river Weaver with the salt manufacture, that a word or two must be said upon it. Along the whole of its course, or nearly so, and that of its tributary, the Wheelock, there are numberless brine springs, which being found close to the banks, enable the proprietors of works to ship their produce without the expense of land carriage. It may here be remarked, that there is not a more interesting excursion to take in this vicinity, than a trip to Northwich in the summer time, to inspect the salt works and mines in that neighourhood, and return to Liverpool by the Weaver navigation. The Weaver meanders through a pretty country, which everywhere presents to view, sweet landscapes, and pastoral scenes of great beauty. The eye meets with cottage and farm, garden, orchard, and corn field, with here and there rich

pastures studded with the herd and fold; while constantly may be seen shining in the glorious sunlight, the large red or white sail of some distant flat, as it threads its way through the tortuous windings of the little sparkling river. Then we have constantly falling on the ear, the pleasant country sounds of distant village chimes, the songs of birds, and the cheerful voices of the haulers as they pursue their toilsome occupation. Master Drayton, in his Polyolbion, highly extols the medicinal qualities of the Weaver, and states that it is the resort of the sea gods and nereids when they are sick.

The river Weaver, although of small extent, is so to speak, a mine of wealth to the county of Chester. It is one instance of the most profitable navigation in the world. From its dues, different parts of the county of Chester have been enriched with noble buildings, religious edifices, country halls, and public works. It is mentioned elsewhere, that 1s. per ton of the salt freight is paid to the Weaver navigation. Of this the manufacturers do not complain, because in point of fact they do not pay it. It is paid by the Liverpool merchants, who are repaid by their customers in the price obtained for the salt. But the manufacturers complain bitterly of having to pay 1s. per ton upon all coals brought up to the works, and this has been a subject of repeated public discussion and agitation, while efforts have constantly been made to induce the trustees of the navigation to remit this obnoxious duty.

We now come to the consideration of rock salt, or salt in its natural state. The county of Chester in this vicinity, seems to rest upon an immense tract of salt formation. It would appear in this case, as in others in different parts of the world, that there has been at one time an immense brine or salt lake left by the waters as they retired, and the continent appeared. Here as elsewhere, we find a ring as it were, of hills or high lands about the salt deposits. The solar heat, of greater intensity perhaps then, than it is at present, evaporated the aqueous particles of the briny lake, while mysterious volcanic agencies assisted in forming for man a mineral of such value, profit, and importance. But who shall speak authoritatively, and say at this time, or that, these mighty deposits took place. Or how long were they in so consolidating into such Titanic masses? It is with bated breath, and something like a feeling of awe, that we even think of that period so long ago, when the young stars sung to

a newly forming world. The mineral, or rock salt, was discovered by accident, while sinking a brine pit at Marbury in 1670, and it was again found in 1779, at Witton on the Weaver. Northwich and Winsford rest entirely upon rock salt. The former town is almost built over it. The salt formation extends a mile and a half N.E. and S.W., and about 1,400 yards in the opposite direction. In other directions its extent is not known. Occasionally the rock gives way and causes a frightful sinking of the earth, by which buildings are shaken, roads destroyed, and much destruction of property takes place. The river Weaver has been, in some cases, much enlarged in its course by this subsidence of the rock. Leland mentions "that a mile from Comber Abbey, a meadow sank suddenly, and with it a peace of a hille having trees upon it, and after that there was a pitte of salt water, and the Abbate began to make salt, but the men of the wichs complaining, compounded with the Abbate that there should be no more salt made." This pit was no doubt formed from the wasting away of the rock by the water washing under it. The brine springs are found not only on the top of the rock, but under it, and I have been told, that in some mines the water can be heard rushing like a torrent. There are two rock pits at Winsford, which deliver 3,000 to 4,000 tons; the Northwich mines, 40,000 to 50,000 tons annually.

Rock salt is found at a depth of 100 to 150 feet below the surface. The stratum is about 75 feet in thickness. Next to the rock salt is a stratum of brown or earthy stone of 30 feet in thickness, and then below this there is a salt deposit of 75 feet in thickness. The lower deposit is the only one worked at the present period, and the average depth of the workings is not more than 15 feet. The depth of the shaft to the lower mine is about 330 feet. The old way of boring the mine was by puddling the sides and casing them with wood as the men went down, but now iron cylinders are used. The water is pumped up from the first or top brine spring to prevent its flooding the mine below. There are two or more shafts to each mine. On looking down the yawning mouth of a rock pit, it certainly does require some nerve, in any one unused to such a style of locomotion, to descend 330 feet in a bucket. The entrance to the mine is roofed over; and from a lofty pulley there is suspended a ponderous chain, to the end of which the bucket or tub, used to bring the rock up to the surface, is appended. Each bucket will hold about two tons of rock salt. There is a sliding platform over the mouth of the pit, which is withdrawn

when the bucket is in motion. On being drawn to the surface, the bucket rests upon the platform, and is thence wheeled away to the barge or flat waiting to be loaded. The miners find their way about very easily. The mine is dry at the bottom, and the work is not of an unhealthy nature, nor so liable to danger as in the coal mine. A mine fully lit up is an extraordinary sight, the gigantic pillars supporting the roof have some resemblance to sugar-candy. There are railways running from the workings to the mouth of the pit. The rock salt is detached by blasting. The temperature of a mine is about 53 degrees. There are at present 23 mines in Cheshire—the quantity of rock salt brought to the surface averages about 100,000 tons annually. The cost of machinery in these mines may be estimated at £500,000.

It must not be forgotten in closing this paper that in 1703 Liverpool was famous for producing white salt. The salt works stood in Orford Street, near the south-east corner of the Salthouse Dock, which takes its name from their vicinity. It is a notable circumstance, as showing the indestructibility of salt, that a well, now existing, or which did exist within the last two or three years, on the site of these works in Orford Street, and which was in use when they were in operation, is so strongly impregnated with saline matter as to be useless for ordinary purposes.

The Liverpool works were removed to Garston under the same proprietorship—that of the Messrs. Blackburne. At the Garston Works, the proportion of rock salt used is 15 tons to 45 tons of sea water, to produce 13 tons of fine or table salt.

The following tabular statements show certain statistics connected with the subject :—

I.—*Quantities of Rock Salt and White Salt sent down the River Weaver.*

Years.	White Salt. Tons.	Rock Salt. Tons.	Total. Tons.
1846	436,259	103,043	539,302
1847	523,004	98,311	621,315
1848	590,571	108,829	699,400
1849	614,670	81,419	696,089
1850	524,098	86,238	610,336
1851	487,720	81,103	568,823
1852	625,458	74,466	699,924

II.—*Salt Exported from Liverpool during Ten Years.*

Years.	Tons.	Years.	Tons.
1841	360,813	1847	472,779
1842	384,231	1848	522,112
1843	462,840	1849	454,643
1844	429,131	1850	445,632
1845	431,155	1851	552,294
1846	412,361	1852	568,077

III.—EXPORTS OF WHITE SALT.

Year.	First Quarter.	Second Quarter.	Third Quarter.	Fourth Quarter.	Total.
1843	79159	127107	120867	98011	425144
1844	74000	126428	123299	81796	405523
1845	66541	114334	122962	101975	405812
1846	72774	95650	130138	92862	391424
1847	106123	134624	146865	85835	473447
1848	81600	150355	170440	126156	528551
1849	127145	156750	149033	103460	536388
1850	110311	129054	97361	91614	428340
1851	73014	151407	146516	112175	483112
1852	93805	134585	146830	112134	487354

IV.—EXPORTED TO

Year.	Europe.	United States and B. America.	Ireland, Coastwise, Jersey &c	Other Parts.	Total.
1843	86612	175228	148372	14932	425144
1844	86353	166136	136984	15750	405523
1845	86818	141482	136950	40562	405812
1846	97427	129715	142111	22171	391424
1847	103966	108939	126491	44051	473147
1848	124505	226966	142035	34445	528551
1849	105172	240913	141320	48983	536388
1850	84137	180716	102807	60080	428340
1851	84024	211481	107282	80325	483112
1852	85923	242025	102796	56610	487354

Those who wish for further information on the subject, I refer to Ormerod's Cheshire, Transactions of the Geological Society, vol. i., page 46, old series, and to a learned and elaborate paper by Mr. Ormerod, which will be found in the 4th vol., page 462, of the same society's publications; Aikin's Dict of Chemistry, vol. ii., page 118; Holland's Agriculture of Cheshire; Dr. Henry's Philosophical Transactions, 1810; Furnival's History of the Wharton and Marston Works; Dr. Brown's Art of Making Salt, 1768; Dr. Jackson's Philosophical Transactions; Camden's Britannia; Leland's Itinerary; King's Vale Royal, &c.

II.—Eight Letters relating to Cheshire, of the time of Elizabeth and James I.

By Thomas Dorning Hibbert, Esq.

The following eight letters, with two already published in vol. IV., of the Society's Proceedings, &c., form a most interesting series, and extend over a space of more than twenty-two years, the date of the earliest being prior to 1587, while the latest is 1609. They are, with the exception of one, all written by William Bateman to various members of his family. His father, John Bateman, was an Alderman of Macclesfield. He had two sons, Thomas and William, and a daughter "Katren." Thomas, his son and heir, was a yeoman and chapman in Macclesfield, residing close to the Mottersheads. While in business, he seems to have been in the habit of visiting London occasionally, probably to purchase goods. After his failure in business he gave much trouble to his family. His wife's name was Ann, and they appear to have had no children.

William, the second son, was educated at Oxford, and from the first of the following letters it would seem that he was ordained by the Bishop of Gloucester about the year 1587. He did not marry till late in life, and probably his wife was Mrs. Holt, with whom he boarded. She was the widow of one of the Holts of Stoke Lyne, county Oxford, a gentle family, who appear in the visitation of Oxfordshire in 1574. They were a branch of the Holts of Grysellant, county Lancaster.

The daughter Katren, married a Mr. Evans, by whom she had a son and daughter.

The letter of William Bateman of earliest date, printed vol. IV., p. 196, alludes to the death of his mother, the putting out of his sister Katren to service in consequence, and the intention of his father to marry a second time—from which he attempts to dissuade him. The father did marry however, as the first of these letters shows, in 1587. His death took place in 1601, as may be seen by the fifth letter.

I. To his Lovinge Brother
Thomas Bateman at
Maxfield
these with Speede
Jesus.

Brother Thomas my commendations remembered unto you your

wife and all other our kinsfolkes and friendes. I desire you to commend me unto my parents, though my mother be as yeat unknowne. I trust in God hereafter we shall be better acquainted, and I request you to desire them both to have me daily in their prayers and the very same dealing I wish both of you, and my sister, and God willing I myseff will do the like towards you all, for your great courtesy offered unto me. I give you hearty thanks, but whereas you term our mother a Step mother: it is a very odious term in our country and therefore I pray you use it no more, because it is our duties to accept well of her who our father hath vouch safed to marrie, espetiallie if she use him well and honestly as she ought to do. And whereas you say your greatest comfort is, and may be in me next under God I would have you think otherwise that is this that our cheafest piety and comfort next after him, ought to be in our parents, but surely brother as you have bound me not only by deeds but words to be yours, soo by God's Grace I will continue yours to command in what I can, according to my slender abilities, whereas you write that you and my sister desire to see me in Macclesfield I trust in God the summer next coming it shall—this it cannot And wh'as you say I shall have a home with you I thank you for it, but I hope in God I shall not be only welcome unto you but also to my parents when I come. In my last letter I directed unto my father I signefied unto him what I had done for my sister, and what I would do if I could have any good hope of towardness in her, and in the same mind I continue still. I write the like letter too her that is here in inclosed, to admonish her to flee from idleness as from a serpent whereas that letter is not delivered, because the carrier cannot hear certainly where she is, surely it is very sharp and rough, but not without good cause. I pray you remember me most dutifully to my old Master Mr. Brownswerd his wife and children. And thus I commit you unto the Lord who grant that our parents and we may meet in his heavenly kingdom after our pilgrimage is ended upon the earth

Ludgershall this 8th June 1587.

Your loving brother

WILLIA. BATEMANNE.

On the back of the above letter.

My father as John Knight told me desired our countrimen Mr. Jackson and his brother and Mr. Potts brother, to ask me whether I was entered into the ministerie, as yet I pray you tell him I am not, not but I intend God willing to repair to the Bishop of Glos'ter with another student of Oxford by Gods help with as much speed as is possible and having obtained orders which I have very good assurance I shall do by the means I have worked, I doubt not by Gods assistance but I shall have livinge sufficient. I made this letter to have been delivered by our countrymen before named, but they came not by our town. I pray you if you come to London

this year, come to Ludgisale and if I be not theire you shall heare where I am, come unto me that you and I may confer together.

The next letter is not dated in the usual way, but has on the cover "ann° 1588." We might however conclude that it is second in order from the nature of its contents, as in it William receives assistance in money from his brother Thomas, whereas Thomas in all the others requires aid from him.

II.

To his Louing fath^{r}
Ihon Bateman dwellinge
at Maxfelde in Cheshire
theise in hast.
The minist^{r} by whom I would
you should send mee worde as to
all things dwelleth by mee
and is at Alton in Stafford-
shire vntill the 12th March
Ann° 1588.

Jesus

Welbeloued fath^{r} I most hartilie co^{m}mende mee vnto you & my mother desiringe you both daylie to rememb^{r} mee in yo^{r} praiers, as I for my parte by gods p.mission will you etc. I pray you haue mee co^{m}mended to my broth^{r} Thomas and my sist^{r} Ann, & I would desire you to giue my brother greate thankes in my name for the xs he sent me by M^{r} Jacksonne w^{ch} by gods grace I will recompence when it shall please him to bestow bett^{r} abilitie vppo^{n} mee, but in the meane time I must desire both you & him to accept of my good will. Theare is one Croslie as hee nameth him selfe an old ma^{n} w^{ch} hath bine twice wth me at Stoke w^{ch} tould me you certified him you had writt a lett^{r} vnto mee w^{ch} as yeat I nev^{r} receiued nor anie one fro^{m} you since my co^{m}minge into the countrey w^{ch} maketh mee greatlie to marvell for theire co^{m}meth not one fitt messeng^{r} fro^{m} mee that shall passe w^{i}thout alett^{r} if I may haue time to write. If my broth^{r} Thomas come to London this yeare I would desire him to see mee in his iorney but as I vnd^{er}stande by his last letter he mistooke my worde when wee two conferd togeth^{r}, for he writeth theirein to know wheth^{r} I am full minister, I am soe now, & was then, though my travailinge w^{ch} was verie great, & the paime^{nt} for my ord^{rs} cost mee verie deare, w^{ch} payme^{nt} hath houlde^{n} mee vnder, & as yeat I am not able to discharge it all; for my wages for the Cure is but bare viij£ whereof I pay vijs Subsidie, & verie neare vj£ my boorde, & I haue but fiue scholl^{rs} in our parish, & for anie forth of the p.rish not lightlie anie because others doe schoule as well as I. I would most willinglie see you this yeare if abilitie would p.mitt, but I doubt I shall lacke wher wth to doe it, vnlesse you will doe mee that pleasure, as to lende mee xxs w^{ch} xxs would make full payme^{nt} vnto him of whome I borrowed iij£ whe^{n} I made suite for my ord^{rs}. And

if you will doe soe muche for mee you shall receiue it againe wth a bett^{r} some if god spare mee lyfe & health wth in the Twelmonth, if possiblie you may doe it, I would request you to take the paines to bringe it to Mr. Lees the bearer heareof my neighboure. & verie deare frende & one of the same cote that I am; & if you will doe mee this pleasure it shall goe verie harde but I will see you this yeare (if god will) if you doe not the^{n} I ca^{n}not in noe wise. I pray you doe my dutifull co^{m}mendaconnes to my good old M^{r} Brownswerde my M^{rs} & his two sonnes wth all oth^{r} our frends. I desire greatlie to know wheare my sist^{r} Katren is & how shea doth, of whom I pray you certifie mee in yo^{r} next letter. Thus trustinge you will co^{n}sid^{r} of the p.misses I co^{m}mit you vnto god & the lord Jesus blesse vs both; from Stoke the vth of March

your Louinge sonne to his power WILLIAM BATEMAN

The third is from Thomas, to his brother, informing him that he has been imprisoned for debt. Its date is 1593. He seems to have remained in prison till 1601 (vide 5th letter).

III.

To his Wel beloved bro–
ther William Bateman
curat at Stoke in
Oxfordshire gyve
these.
I pray you m^{r} ffrauncis
Jacksonne that you
will see this letter
dileuered to him
aboue written.
gyue theise to M^{r} Jack–
sonne dwellinge in
Show lane in Robin
hoods courte.

Brother William after my most hartie commendations trustinge in god you are in good health as I was at the makinge hereof. these are to let you vnderstand that I beinge imprisoned for dete I am determined to make a convay of my landes vnto you and your heires for ever after my decease yf soe be that you will satisfie my creditors; yf you refuse this offer that then I may craue at your brotherly handes that you will show me this fauour that you will talke with my creditors and agree or enter into bandes with me and for your discharge you shall [have] my landes morgaged vnto you. Thus committinge you to the almightie I end. Maclesfeild the xxiij day of Aprill 1593:

Mye ffather and Mother are in good health thankes be to god my ffather would a made a saile of the house but for me and sould vnto Maister Steppleton but I refused to sailed with him and a delivered him the euidence.

I haue paid many of my creditors as I longe as I had any monye now I beinge destitute of monye request that you will stand a good brother vnto me for now I have noe monye to maintaine me with. I pray write your minde unto my ffather yf you will not come downe yourselfe. I desire that you will not gyue my ffather to vnderstand that I haue certiffide you that he would a sould his house to Maister Steppleten. for yf you doe he will be offended with me

IV. To his Louinge fath^r^ John Bateman at maxfeld deliv^d^ theise Aprill xii 1599.

Welbeloued fath^r^ aft^r^ my most dutifull commendaconnes vnto you & my louing moth^r^ desyring you booth to pray to god to blesse mee etc. I received yo^r^ lett^r^ & my broth^rs^ this xij^th^ of Aprill by this bear^r^ William Deluès and I entended god willinge though you had sent no messeng^r^ to haue come downe eyth^r^ the next weeke or the weeke followinge, & the same determination I hould still. My broth^r^ writes vnto mee that he can haue as much for the grounde for xxj yeeres as you can haue for the purchase: I pray you then that booth hee and you doo what you can to let all be let as well as you can & I doubt not but that will greatly besteed us all, & soe the house may be reserved still. I entend to repair to a counsell^r^ to craue his counsell in our evidences before I come downe. I pray you let all things be soe p.fected as neere as you can y^t^ when I come downe I shall need but to stay a short tyme. In anie case I would entreat you that my broth^r^ p.sently after the receipt heireof may see this letter. And this I end committing you vnto the tuition of Thalmightie who ev^r^ blesse vs & send vs his heavenly kingdome. I pray you haue mee commended to my broth^r^ Thomas, & my sister & in anie sort I would desire that booth of you laboure yo^r^ businesse diligently. till I come downe, & to effect it for all our goode as neere as you may. From stoake the xij^th^ of Aprill.

Yo^r^ Loving sonne to commaund
WILLIAM BATEMAN

The next letter speaks of his brother's release and his father's death.

V. To his Louing brother Thomas Bateman residing at Maxfeld in Cheshire theise with speede.

Brother Thomas I haue me most hartilie co^m^mended vnto you & my sister Ann with all the rest of our frends in Maxfeld. As theire was nev^r^ anie thing that grieved me more then yo^r^ imprysonment, so theire was nev^r^ anie newes that ev^r^ I heard made me more ioyous then yo^r^ releasement did; for I was partlie persuaded that you would have laine theire during yo^r^ life, unlesse it had so pleased God to have blest me that I might have bene able to have set you at

libertie; for I did feare that if you had rested theire till after my fath^{rs} discease that the house & lande by some indirect meanes would have bene got from you, but now I truste you will looke to all things & show yo^{r}selfe faithfull & honest towarde eveire man & remaine his fast freind for ev^{r} that released you, if he haue not done it to yo^{r} vtt^{r} decay & overthrowe and so will I my self if I may knowe his name, for his meere good will and kindnes shewed towardes you, & not onlie to him, but to anie freinde of his as much as in me lyeth; for though both of vs be of small power now, it may please God hereaft^{r} we may be better. Seeke broth^{r}ly love and peace wth all men, follow yo^{r} buysines diligentlie & let theise yo^{r} troubles past be warning vnto you to looke to yo^{r}self. If anie troublesome p.son molest you for house or land avoid lawing by all meanes possible and desire some good freind of account and creditt to decyde all controv^{r}sies betwixt him and you, keepe you possession & earnestlie request yo^{r} own freinde and yo^{r} wives to assist and aide you & pray you vnto God & vndoubtedlie he will heare you in all yo^{r} troubles. Mrs. Holt with whome I boorde hath had matt^{rs} of foure hundred pounds valew in suite both with spirituall and temporall law & I am assured she had iustice of h^{r} syde, and did procure both Honourable and worshipfulle freinde to help that shea might have iustice: notwthstanding I can tell you it hath cost h^{r} manie poundes, much iorneying, and God knoweth, hard successe in the end, theirefore fly from law as from a serpent, this I knowe, because at h^{r} peticion I dealt in them for her. I give you but this one instance, but I could give you manie. If Thomas Marler gave not my fath^{r} the ⋈ s [10s.] w^{ch} I sent by him the 27th of Julie last, then certify him that I would him deliv^{r} it unto you by the same token that at his returne from his broth^{rs} he and I did eate a messe of cold milk and something els at Mrs Holts Hall at the long table theire and by anoth^{r} token that when he went away I went downe the streete with him & at parting I told him I would haue brought him further, saving that I must goe talke wth Mr Holt in a medowe w^{ch} I shewed vnto him. The greatest part of this matter was written in my last letter I sent unto you but I write it again, because I knowe not whether you received it or noe. I being in London this last weeke enquired of three, how my fath^{r} & you did and two of them, namelie Mr Allen and Mr Broser said my father was not well & that he kept his chamber, but finding out Mr. Henry Dutton, he told me that about two monthes agoe, he being in Maxfeld and hearing the bells, asked for whom they did ring and it was told him for my father for he was deade. Death is the end of all flesh, theirefore we must content ourselves and take patientlie whatsoever the Lord imposeth vppo^{n} us. There was nev^{r} to my knowledge a fit messeng^{r} came betwixt you & me that came without a lett^{r} from me eyth^{r} to my fath^{r} & you both or one of you, includinge all things, in that letter, & requesting him to whom it was sent to show it to the other, as by Thomas Marler I sent two, one to my father another to you, de-

maund them both of him So that I think vnkindnes in you that you would suff^{r} Mr. Norberie and Thomas Marler to passe without yo^{r} letter to me. I pray you let me receiue a lett^{r} from you with as much expedicion as you may, & cause it to be fast seald, and certify me in what sort you were releast, & how the matter standeth for house and lande, wheth^{r} they be sould, w^{ch} I hope not, because you have ev^{r} protested you would not, or the evidences morgaged, or anie part let by lease, if they be, for what space they are soe. Also where my sist^{r} Katren is & how she leadeth her lyfe, but I would desire that theise things might be set down rightlie and truelie. Thus I end committing you unto the Lord, who ev^{r} blesse vs all. Aarholm 27th of October 1601.

Yo^{r} Loving broth^{r} to his power,
WILLIAM BATEMAN.

The next letter is very interesting, as it shows the expenses of Institution, &c., and the value of his living.

VI. To his Loving brother Thomas
Batema^{n} at Maxfelde in Cheshire
theise wth speede
June xxixth 1603.

Brother Thomas aft^{r} my most hartie comendaconnes vnto you & my sister Ann, praying to god to blesse you, and yo^{r} proceedinges, & desyring you both in lyke sort to pray for me, & myne &c. Whearas you give me thankes for my kindnes towards you & my sister, I pray god much good may it dooe you, & if my abilitie were to my good will, I would haue done, & would now doe, that I am not able. you write vnto me, that whether you liue or die you will requite me, I looke not for anie requitall at all from you in money, because it seemes by you that is scarce: but a broth^{r}lie, upright, & conscionable dealing fro^{m} you, that you would neith^{r} sell, set, morgage nor use anie sinister meanes to defraude or keepe fro^{m} me yo^{r} house & lande. Vppo^{n} Saturday in Whitsunweeke I was at M^{r} Norberies, thinking to have mett wth some Cheshire men theire, because I had bine told that he expected some, & as he, and his wife told me they had made provision for them, but none came. & he said vnto me furth^{r} that he thought to come downe about Michaelmas, but for my coming till I have something recovered my self I will not. My old freind M^{r} Leigh hath resigned vnto me his Vicaridg of Caffield w^{ch} is worth xx markes the yeere, but it hath cost me for my resignatio^{n}, institution^{n}, induction charges he had bestowed about my chamb^{r} at Stretton, Awdley wheire I now dwell, & oth^{r} expences aboue xiij£: so that all that I haue gotten at Stoke is spe^{nt} vppo^{n} this, & for the commoditie of it fro^{m} our last Ladies day whe^{n} I entred vppo^{n} it till the next I looke for none, for godwilling I will nev^{r} be vnthankfull to such a freind as I have found M^{r} Leigh to be. So that I haue nothing to liue vppo^{n} this yeere but my bare ix£ at Stretto^{n}, & yeat I am

constrained to fetch it Quart'lie at Oxford, & by schooling I get nothing, because for div^rse considerations that may insue, I will follow myne owne studie, the greatest p^t of this some I giue for my boorde: soe that I would intreat both you, & my sist^r to p.don me both from iorneying & p.ting from anie money, till I may truelie say I will spend myne owne money, & the^n godwilling you shall find me readie to pleasure you in what I am able, I protest vnto you theise matt^rs are true, I haue writt vnto you. I heard since I r^d yo^r lett^r by a verie honest young ma^n in Oxford that you liue verie well, w^ch I thank god for, & much reioise in it, but my p.swasio^n is, that you flee fro^m law as from a serpent, & if it be possible that you be at peace w^th all men: & for the Intake I ca^n neith^r tell you my advice nor ask the advice of my freinds vnlesse I knew the circu^mstances of the matt^r but for yo^r beginning anie suite w^th anie ma^n vnlesse doeing soe should be verie harmefull vnto you, I would not wish you in anie sort: but covet to get something that you may truelie say is yo^r owne, as I by the grace of god for my p^t will doe, & then in wrong that is offred you, I will help to assist you the best I can; followe yo^r owne businesse diligentlie, & carefullie, and deale faithfullie & iustlie with all me^n, & then doubt not but god will prosper, & increase you; I have sent you verie latelie a lett^r by finney of Ald'lay w^ch if you have received I would desire you to answeare me, I se^nt div^rse times to the place in Londo^n I se^nt downe, to enquire for a lett^r fro^m you according to yo^r promise, but I could nev^r heare of anie, it cost me money to theise messeng^rs; Though neith^r you, nor I haue had much in the flourishing time of our age, we are bounde to give god thankes, for it was farre more then the bett^r of vs deserved, but I trust god blessing vs, & lookinge vnto the meane chaunce we shall haue sufficient to mainteine vs, & our families, & to bid one another welcome & our freindes welcome, before we come to be old me^n, & when we are old men. About Michaelmas come twelumonth godwilling I entend to see you, for a little before that tyme I trust I shall haue something that I may say is mine owne, & that I can be co^ntent to spend to se you, & my old freinds but If I may p.fectlie vnd'stand that you haue eith^r set, sould, morgaged, eith^r by anie oth^r evell meanes deceiued me of house or Landes, except the passing of yo^r field away from you to M^r Allen in that forme you tould me, then farewell broth^r, & sist^r, & farewell Maxfeld, for then both of you haue give^n me speciall occasio^n to bid all theise adew; I pray god yo^r newes be trew you write vnto me of my sist^r, if w.thout offence to god I may speake it, vnlesse she would reforme h^r old life & become a new woman.

On the margin.

I haue heard of many peticions delivered vnto our King but not of one * * * * w^ch is disp * * * * [what] the issue of theise matt^rs wilbe the Lord onely knoweth. Commende me I pray you to my cosen Iho^n Blagge & his [wife] also [to]

Mr. William * * * [and all others] of our kinsfolke and freindes.

[I] commende you both [to God]
yo^{r} Louinge [brother]
WILLIAM BATEMAN.

The next letter would seem to show how rare nutmegs were then, as he sends two as a present to his cousin. It is evident also that Oxford gloves were then highly prized.

VII. To my Louinge Cosen John
Blagge at maxfelde in
Cheshire theise wth speede

Cosen John aft^{r} my most harty commendaconnes vnto you and my good cosen yo^{r} bed fellowe, &c. I sent a lett^{r} to my broth^{r} Thomas bearing date the xxvith of June by M^{r} Shirt willing him theirin to come upp wth all expedition & he comes to me fifeteene weekes aft^{r} & bett^{r}, & I could nev^{r} heare from him till he came: if he had come immediatelie he had received that we concluded of, nay if he had come by St Mathewes tide w^{ch} is a week before Michaelmas I p.test vnto you he had had it, for till then it lie by me still expecting his cominge. And when I could neith^{r} heare of him nor see him verily I p. swading my self the circumstances considered he had oth^{r} waies p. vided, I lent it my neighbours as my broth^{r} can certify you by my bande I shewed him. He receiued xx s of me now w^{ch} I pray god much good may it doe him. I have sent my cosen yo^{r} wife by this bear^{r} two nut-meges in remembrance of h^{r} kindness & goodwill: but if I had bene assured of my broth^{rs} cominge at Michaelm. godwilling I would haue bought h^{r} a paire of Oxford gloues & sent her. Rentes at this time were paid in our towne & I could not possibly get money to fit his turne theirefore good cosen John let me intreat you of all loue & kindnesse to haue me most hartilie commended to my cosen Henry Bateman & moue him for god's cause and the names sake that he deale not in rigour wth him but in mercie and looke what friendshipp you two shewe to him I will accept as done to my selfe. My broth^{r} tells me he will let him out housing or grounds for his satisfaction. at such a rate as shall be thought good by honest discrete men & allowe him for his money according to the statute w^{ch} offer in my iudgement is both godly and honest. Thus trusting of your furtherance & goodwill to help my poor broth^{r} what you may he securing you I leaue you and yo^{rs} to Thalmightie being readie at anie time to my power to do you anie pleasure I can. Stretton Audley the xvjth of Sept 1605.

Yo^{r} loving Cosen in what he
may. WILLIAM BATEMAN.

The letter next in order of date has been already printed vol. IV., p, 197. It invites Thomas to come to see his brother, at Stretton Awdley.

The date is 1607. It mentions that he had given Thomas money to a considerable amount. The last in the series is dated 1609, and is addressed to his sister Mrs. Evans, whose conduct he rebukes sharply.

VIII. To his Loving sister Katre^{n}
Evans at Maxfelde or
els wheire theise wth
Speede.

Sist^{r} Evans I am verie sorie & much disco^{n}tented that you co^{n}tinue that vngodly, lewd, & idle life still, & traine up yo^{r} childre^{n} to doe the like. Whe^{n} yo^{r} daught^{r} was placed with my sist^{r} & I am p.swaded had those things w^{ch} were fit for h^{r} and well vsed: I should haue thought well of you, if you had suffered h^{r} to haue rested theire vnlesse you could haue betterd h^{r} dwellinge. It is told me that in yo^{r} begging up & downe the co^{n}ntrie you are not abashed to prate, & lye that the house, & lands shalbe yo^{rs}: but I can assure you that during my broth^{rs} life, my sist^{rs}, and mine owne life, & my childre^{n} if I haue anie, you, nor yo^{rs} cannot, nor may not, haue anie thing to doe theire. Lykewise yo^{r} husband saith that whe^{n} he cometh to Stretto^{n} that I shall send for him before he wille come to me; for anie benefite I ev^{r} receiued at his hand or yo^{rs} I haue noe occasio^{n} to send for him nor you, nor I doe not intend it, nor furth^{r} that anie of you all shall receiue anie pennies, halfpennies or farthing in monie or monie woorth of my goods, for y^{t} I have I thank god for it I haue gotte^{n} with great paines, & industrie, & doe not intend to bestowe it of such that will frame themselves to no paines taking, but lead that life w^{ch} by the law is t^{r}me^{d} rogish, & may where they goe abroad be punished as roges; for such as feare god & respected theire owne credit, or the credit of theire kindred or freinds, would be most vilie ashamed to beg; but rath^{r} laboure dilige^{n}tlie wth theire owne hands that they would be chargable to noe ma^{n}. My broth^{r} ca^{n} tell you that whe^{n} he made so many iornyes vnto me that I gave him at his last coming but one bare half crowne, & I told him that if he came againe he should not haue had one pennie, nor no more in good truth he should; & assure yo^{r} self I will much rath^{r} serve you soe if you returne the^{n} I would him if he had returned; for he ever came like a ma^{n}, & had a house to returne to, & w^{ch} most of all co^{m}forted me cou^{n}ted an honest ma^{n}, but wth you quite contrarie. Thus wth my comendaconnes to yo^{r} husband trusting in god all thinges wilbe amended I co^{m}mit you to god Stretto^{n} Awdl. 1609

Yo^{r} Loving broth^{r} vppo^{n} amendment
WILLIAM BATEMAN

FIFTH MEETING.

Collegiate Institution, 3rd March, 1853.

DAVID THOM, D.D., Vice-President, in the Chair.

PROCEEDINGS.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Certificates of six Candidates for Membership were read for the first time.

The following gentlemen were duly elected:—

William Ellis, 29, Edge Lane, Liverpool.
Peter Mac Intyre, M.D., 120, Duke Street, Liverpool.
John Robinson, Westfield, Huddersfield.

The following DONATIONS to the Society were laid upon the table:—

1. From the *Society*.

Memoires de la Societe des Antiquaires de l' Ouest, anno 1850–51, Poitiers, 1852.

2. From the *Author*.

On the Assyro-Babylonian Phonetic characters, by the Rev. E. Hincks, D.D., 1852.

A list of Assyro-Babylonian characters, with their Phonetic values, by the Rev. E. Hincks, D.D., 1852.

3. From *other* Donors.

James Kendrick, M.D. — Catalogue of the Plants in the Liverpool Botanical Gardens, 1808.

Akerman's Directions for the preservation of English Antiquities, 1851.

Dr. Hume. — Catalogue of the Library of the late Rev. G. B. Sandford, M.A., of Church Minshull. and of the late John Just, Esq., Bury. Sold at Manchester, 1853.

James Stonehouse, Esq.	Autograph letters from John Braham and Mrs. Hemans.
William Bennett, Esq.	A volume in large elephant folio, illustrated with numerous plates; "Description des Tombeaux de Canosa, par A. L. Millin, à Paris, 1816."

The following articles were EXHIBITED:—

By Joseph Guyton, Esq.	A Scottish Highland Claymore, left in a room in the Inn at Dumfries, occupied by the Young Pretender on his return from England, 1746. On one side of the blade is the following inscription, GOTT BEWAR DE, and on the other, VERECHTE SCHOTTEN.
By Miss Atherton.	An ancient iron coffer, fashioned after the style of the old muniment chests, with ribs, hinges, lock, and handles. In the front is painted a group of figures.
By J. W. Whitehead, Esq.	Six curious stone axes, which had formed part of the splendid collection of the late Lieut. Col. Sommer, dispersed by Auction, May, 1852.

1. Splendid flint axe, from the spring of St. Helène Kilde, in Seelande. It is blocked out by the chipper, for the operation of grinding.
2. Flint axe unpolished; from the marsh of Utterslev, near Copenhagen.
3. Flint axe from Jutland, a companion to No. 2. It has been injured at the top, but the fractures have been removed by grinding; it has also been sharpened on one side, after repeated use.
4. Flint axe unpolished. This is an approximation to the form of the bronze celt, and is probably more modern.
5. Small stone axe, roughly hewn, and polished at the edges.
6. Small stone axe, (companion to No. 5,) roughly hewn and polished on all the four sides.

By J. G. Jacob, Esq.	Four silver coins; three of them of Edward III., of England, and one of Alexander I., of Scotland.

By Joseph Mayer, F.S.A. A series of nearly 400 original drawings by Liverpool artists, in illustration of his paper for the evening. Among these was the first portrait of Roscoe, painted by John Williamson, drawings by Stubbs, the animal painter, Moses Houghton, Crouchly, Spence, Mosses, Samuel Williamson, Herdman, Thomas Griffiths, Daniels, and many others

The original sketch of the house in which Roscoe was born, by Samuel Austin.

Two volumes of Roscoe's Letters.

By Rev. John James Moss, B. A. A paper box, manufactured by F. D. Browne, (Mrs. Hemans,) presented to Mr. Moss's mother in acknowledgement of a kindness. Flowers are painted on the lid, and on the bottom the following lines from Cunningham, in the autograph of the Poetess:—

" The little rose that laughs upon the stem,
"(One of the sweets with which the gardens teem)
" In value soars above an Eastern gem
" If tendered as a token of esteem."

A terra cotta medallion of Leo X., presented to Mrs. Moss, of Islington, by Roscoe, in 1829.

By Dr. Kendrick, Warrington. An oval silver medallion, the property of Mrs. Rylands, of Warrington. *Obverse.* A well-executed bust, with flowing hair, and in the costume of the close of the 17th century. *Reverse.* A man nearly nude, resting his right arm upon an altar, holding in his left hand a shield charged with 3 bars, and supporting a club; before him several reptiles; above him a glory, with the Hebrew name of the Deity; at his feet "**HUC USQ ET Ō ULTRA.**" *Edge.* "**ERNEST BOGISLAO D G. DUC: GROV: AC ROM IMP. PRINCIPI &c. I. HOHN. D. D. D. ANNO 1668.**"

An Apostle Spoon, of silver, formerly given by the sponsors to the godchild at its christening. The assay-mark refers its date to 1616.

By Mr. Flower, of Bold Street. A small bronze bust of Roscoe, after the large one by Spence.

PAPERS.

I.—Historical Notes on the Valley of the Mersey previous to the Norman Conquest.

By Thomas Baines, Esq.

When the Romans landed in Britain they found the island occupied by numerous tribes, each governed by its own petty chief. Upwards of thirty such tribes are mentioned by name in Cæsar's account of his Two Expeditions to Britain; in Tacitus's account of his Father-in-law's Agricola's Campaigns; in Ptolemy's Geography; in the Itineraries or road books published at a later period; or in other works of authority. Although a local habitation has been found by ingenious writers for each of the thirty-five tribes enumerated by these writers, yet the precise bounds which separated many of them from each other, are not, and never will be, ascertained. There is no doubt, however, that the Brigantes, who were amongst the most powerful of the British tribes, occupied a large part, if not the whole of the six northern counties of England, extending from the Humber and the Mersey to the Cheviot Hills, nor that the Cornavii occupied the greater part of the plain which extends from the Mersey to the Severn, and includes Cheshire, Shropshire, and Staffordshire. Ptolemy, the geographer, mentions Eboracum, or York, as one of the cities of the Brigantes, and Duena, or Deva, the modern Chester, as one of the cities of the Cornavii. The frontier line between those two tribes was, therefore, formed somewhere between those two cities, and there is little doubt that a part of it was formed by the river Mersey.

Whilst the divisions between many of the small states of Britain were imaginary political lines, the Brigantes had, on the southern frontier, a great natural boundary, consisting of a lofty chain of hills, rising in some places to the height of 2,000 feet, in ancient times covered with thick forests,—two wide estuaries, the Mersey and the Humber,—numerous rivers flowing into those estuaries from the mountains,—and wide and deep

swamps lying between the rivers, and adding to the difficulty of the approaches. The first Roman general who led an army into the wild and mountainous country of the Brigantes was Petilius Cerialis, who invaded that part of Britain in the time of Vespasian, about the year 70 of the Christian era. According to the expression of Tacitus, he there fought many battles, and those not bloodless, and embraced, in victory or war, the greater part of the country of the Brigantes. But the true conqueror of the Brigantes was Julius Agricola. In his first campaign, he conquered a large portion of North Wales, then inhabited by the Ordovices, and captured the stronghold of the Druids—the Isle of Anglesey, or Mona. In his second campaign, he marched northward into the country of the Brigantes; occupied places fit for camps; explored the estuaries and forests, no doubt including the Mersey and the wide forests which encircled it; and, by holding out the terrors of war on one side, and the advantages of peace on the other, induced many of the Brigantes and other tribes to submit to the Roman dominion. The following winter he spent in introducing the arts of civilized life. "The following winter," says Tacitus, "he spent in carrying out useful plans; for, in order to accustom men dispersed and rude, and, therefore, always ready for war, to the pleasures of a peaceful life, he began to exhort them privately, to assist them publicly, in building temples, forums, and houses. . . . . Also, to instruct their sons in liberal arts; to prefer the genius of the Britons to the industry of the Gauls, so that those who before had detested the Roman language, desired a reputation for eloquence. Hence the honour of our dress and the frequent toga. By degrees they proceeded to the refinements of the bath, the portico, and the feast, called by man civilization, but really parts of servitude." Such was the manner in which Agricola spent the year which intervened between his campaign in North Wales and that to the banks of the Tay; and it is probably to this period that we ought to refer the origin of the temples, and other public buildings, erected in the valley of the Mersey, at Mancunium, or Manchester, and at Verantinum, or Warrington; and the still nobler works erected in the valley of the Dee, at Chester, and that of the Ribble, at Ribchester. To the same period we may also refer the great roads which the Romans formed on the banks of the Mersey. These lines of road may still be distinctly traced on the Ordnance Maps, recently formed. One line crossed the river at Warrington, another at Manchester. Viewing these roads locally, the former con-

nected Chester with Ribchester, the latter united the three great Roman stations of Chester, Manchester, and York; viewing them on a larger scale, they connected the valley of the Mersey with every part of Britain subject to the Roman dominion, and with the whole civilized world of ancient times. During the next fifteen hundred years these were the roads along which the armies of the Anglo-Saxons, Danes, and Normans, and of the kings and barons of the Plantagenet race, marched to victory or defeat; within a small distance of their track the most famous English battles were fought; along their course all the ancient towns, which were of sufficient consequence to be made the sees of bishops, grew up, and all the internal trade of the country was carried on, except were navigable rivers gave a cheaper and easier means of transport and communication.

There is so much fiction in the accounts of the British king Arthur, that it is difficult to judge whether we ought to place any credence in the stories of the great battles said to have been fought between the Britons under his command, and the invading Saxons in South Lancashire, a few miles north of the Mersey. Wigan, on the Douglas, close to the great Roman road, which crossed the Mersey at Warrington, and intersected Lancashire from north to south, is the supposed site of those battles. There is no point at which a Saxon army pushing its conquests southward, and a Welsh or British army defending its ancient territory, would be more likely to come into conflict, and according to Nennius four battles did take place there. What we know from Saxon authority of the progress of the Saxons southward is this. Ida, the first Saxon King of Northumberland, began to reign in the year 547. He built the strong castle on the coast of the present county of Northumberland, which was called Bebbanburh, (and is now known as Bamboro'.) Soon after we find his successors reigning at York, which, from that time, became the capital of the kingdom of Northumberland; and, in the year 607, sixty years after the accession of Ida, we find one of his descendants, Ethelfrith, King of Northumberland, fighting a great battle with the Britons south of the river Mersey. According to the Saxon Chronicle, "he led his army to Chester, where he slew an innumerable number of the Welsh." At this time, therefore, the ancient kingdom of the Brigantes, afterwards formed into the Roman province of Maxima Cæsariensis, had been overrun by the Saxons. Here their progress was checked soon after by the advance of another Saxon people, the Mercians. They gradually extended their dominion over

seventeen of the present English counties, of which Cheshire was the most northerly, and with them the Welsh seem to have formed an alliance. One object of the alliance was to restrain and punish the Northumbrians, who had committed a terrible massacre of priests and people at Chester. This alliance continued for several years, although in the interval the Northumbrians had become Christians, which the Welsh had been for many generations, whilst the Mercians still clung to the worship of Woden Thor, and Friah, which their ancestors had brought from the forests of Germany and shores of the Baltic.

In the great struggle between the Northumbrians and the Mercians, which preceded the establishment of Christianity in the central parts of England, the chief leaders were Penda, king of Mercia, and Edwin, Oswald, and Oswy, who were successively kings of Northumberland.

The first great battle between Penda and the Christian kings of Northumberland, took place at Heathfield-Moor, on the south-western frontier of Yorkshire. In this battle Edwin was killed, and after the battle Penda advanced as far as York, burning and destroying on every side. On the approach of the Pagans, Paulinus, the first Archbishop of York, fled by sea, taking along with him the widow of King Edwin. Paulinus was well received by the King of Kent, who appointed him Bishop of Rochester, which see he possessed until the time of his death, seventeen years after the death of King Edwin.

After the death of Edwin and the flight of Paulinus, the affairs of the Christian people of Northumberland appeared to be desperate; but fortunately there was a king found in Oswald, and a bishop in St. Aidan, who were capable of restoring the independence and sustaining the religion of the Northumbrians. After a succession of battles, King Oswald succeeded in driving Penda from the Kingdom of Northumberland, over which he reigned for nine years. Being resolved, as far as in him lay, to restore the knowledge of the Christian religion, he sent to the famous monastery of Iona for a religious teacher, and was most fortunate in obtaining such a man as St. Aidan. According to the Venerable Bede, he was a truly apostolic man, distinguished for his "love of peace and charity; his continence and humility; his mind superior to anger and avarice, and despising pride and vain glory; his industry in keeping and teaching the heavenly commandments; his diligence in reading and watching; his authority be-

coming a priest in reproving the haughty and powerful; and, at the same time, his tenderness in comforting the afflicted, and relieving or defending the poor."

Oswald reigned nine years, when he was again attacked by Penda, the relentless enemy of his race and religion. A battle took place at Maserfelde, or Makerfield, and in this battle Oswald was slain and his army defeated. The place where this disastrous battle took place, is proved by a great preponderance of evidence, to have been Makerfield, in the valley of the Mersey, on the line of the Roman road from Chester to Ribchester, close to the point where the dominions of Oswald and Penda joined.

Some authors have supposed that the battle in which King Oswald was slain, was fought near Oswestry, which is said, in ancient times, to have been called Maserfeldt. The evidence, as far as names is concerned, is not very decisive either way; but in favour of Lancashire Makerfield, is to be added the fact, that the latter is within the territory of the kings of Northumberland, and precisely at the point at which it was most likely to be attacked by an army advancing from Mercia, whilst Oswestry is far distant from Oswald's dominions, and many miles within the dominions of Penda. Both Bede and the Saxon Chronicle state, that Penda died in defending his own dominions. In addition to this it should be mentioned, that at the time when Domesday Book was compiled, there were two carucates of land at Newton-in-Makerfield, consecrated to King Oswald; that the church of Winwick bears his name, and contains an ancient inscription, which states that that was the place of his death; and that there has been there, from the earliest times, a holy well, bearing his name, and which was always supposed to mark the spot where he fell.

But the death of Oswald, though a great misfortune to the Christian cause in England, and to the independence of Northumberland, was not fatal to either. King Oswald was succeeded by King Oswy, his brother; and in a great battle with him, Penda was defeated. Penda, and upwards of thirty of his principal officers were drowned in their flight, having been driven into the river Winweyde, the waters of which were at that time much swollen by heavy rains. There is no stream in England which is more liable to be suddenly flooded than the stream which joins the river Mersey below Winweck, and there, both the resemblance of the names, and the probability of the fact, induce me to think that Penda met with

his death, within two or three miles of the place at which Oswald had fallen.

The death of Penda was followed by the triumph of Christianity amongst the Mercians, and the establishment of the midland bishopric of Lichfield, a bishopric which rivalled the archbishoprics of Canterbury and York in extent and dignity, during the flourishing times of the kingdom of Mercia; which originally had power from the Thames to the Severn and Mersey; and which after the overthrow of the kingdom of Northumberland, even stretched its power as far as the river Ribble.

Until the year 867 the river Mersey was the boundary between two kingdoms, each occupied by the Anglo-Saxon race; but about that year it became the boundary between the Danes and the Saxons. The first appearance of the Scandinavian sea rovers, known in England as the Danes, in France as the Normans, and in Ireland as the Eastmen, and who were a mixed multitude of Danes, Norwegians, and Swedes, was in the year A.D. 787. From that time to the year 840, they landed only in the summer months, and only for purposes of plunder, and retired as speedily as possible with their booty. In that year they first remained in England during the winter, and gradually formed plans of permanent occupation, which they ultimately carried into execution, until the whole of the kingdom north of the Mersey and the Humber, and the whole to the east of Watling-street, which ran along much the same line as the railway from Chester to London, was occupied by them.

The kingdom of Northumberland being to the North of the Humber and the Mersey, was one of the first conquests made by the Danes in England. The army which made this conquest was commanded by Halfdane. The invaders landed in Anglia, which included the counties of Lincoln and Norfolk, in the autumn of 866; spent the winter there; and and in the spring of the following year marched northward to the city of York, which was the capital of Northumberland. They found that kingdom in the condition of a house divided against itself. The king had been deposed by his people, and a pretender had seized the throne. They had been engaged in a desperate civil war, but on the approach of the Danes they agreed to act together, though not until it was too late. A great battle was fought at York in the year 867, in which the two kings were killed by the victorious Danes. Thus fell the Saxon kingdom of Northumberland, which the Danes soon after divided amongst themselves.

No part of the United Kingdom bears stronger marks of their possession than that part of the valley of the Mersey which lies in the hundred of West Derby. Nearly all the names are Danish. This is not the case in the Hundred of Salford. There are few names there of Danish origin, and it is probable that the old Saxon inhabitants retired before the conquerors, into that corner, which, as already stated, was protected by the Yorkshire hills on the east; Pendle Hill and the Rivington Range to the north; the rivers Irwell and Mersey, and Carrington and other Mosses on the south; and the immense morass, now known as Chat Moss, Risley, and the Glazebrook Mosses on the east. Manchester was the centre of that district, and, as we shall see, was destroyed in the Danish wars.

But the acquisition of Northumbria and East Anglea only aroused the eagerness of the Danes for fresh conquests, and led to more desperate conflicts between the invaders and the invaded Saxons. In the course of these struggles, which scarcely ceased during the next two hundred years, the line of division between the Danish and the Saxon territory continually varied. Sometimes it was on the Mersey and the Humber; then on the Trent; then on the Severn and the Thames; and at one time it was driven back to the Parrot, in Somersetshire, and the Exe, in Devonshire. At that time, the whole kingdom was overrun, and everything was subdued, except Alfred, the king. From this lowest point of desperation the Saxons were roused by the valour and genius of the greatest of kings; the tide of Danish invasion was driven back; and, at the close of the war with Guthrum, the Dane, Alfred recovered all his own hereditary dominions in the kingdom of the West Saxons, which included the whole of the country south of the River Thames, and about half the territory of the kingdom of Mercia. The last king of Mercia, Burhred, had fled to Rome, in the midst of this dreadful struggle, where he remained to the time of his death. Alfred and the Danes divided his deserted kingdom between them, Alfred taking everything south and West of Watling-street, and the Danes everything north and east. By the treaty with Guthrum the whole kingdom of Northumberland, north of the Mersey and the Humber, was surrendered to the Danes.

During the life of Guthrum, the boundaries fixed between the Danelagh, or territory subject to the laws of the Danes, and that of the Saxons, remained unchanged; but, in the year 893, an enormous host of Danes,

commanded by Hasten, a chief of consummate military talents, landed at the mouth of the Thames, with the determination to conquer the whole of England, and was at once joined by the Danes of Northumberland and East Anglia. Nothing but the valour and genius of Alfred could have triumphed over dangers so appalling; and it was not until that great King had vanquished the armies of Hasten and his allies, in three campaigns, in which the seat of war was carried from the banks of the Thames to those of the Severn, the Dee, and the Mersey, that he compelled them to fly from the kingdom.

In the year 893 the great Danish host embarked at Boulogne in 250 ships, and came over at one passage, horses and all, to Limne mouth, in Kent, at the east end of the great wood called Andred Wood, 120 miles in length from east to west, and thirty miles broad, Soon after that Hasten, with eighty ships, landed at the mouth of the Thames, and built himself a fortress at Milton, as the other army did at Appledore.

At the beginning of the year 894, all the Northumbrian and East Anglian Danes rose against King Alfred, although they had given oaths and six hostages to the king. "Contrary to their plighted troth, as often as the other (the invading) armies went out with all their forces, they also went out, either with them, or in their own part" of the country. On this King Alfred collected the whole force of the kingdom, and took a position between the invading and home-bred enemies. The first great battle was with the invading host, and was fought at Farnham, in Surrey, where the king gained a great victory; the second was in the West of England, where the Northumbrians had landed from a fleet of forty ships; the third was at Banfleet, on the Thames, where Alfred, assisted by the Londoners, stormed the camp of Hasten, and captured his wife and two sons, whom he generously gave up to him. After this defeat the Danes marched up the valley of the Thames, whence they crossed over into the valley of the Severn, closely followed by a Saxon army, which overtook them at Buttington-bridge, near Shrewsbury. There the Danes had constructed a strong fortified camp, in which the Saxons shut them up, until they were greatly distressed for want of food. After having eaten many of the horses, and having been rendered desperate by hunger, the Danes made a furious sally, and, though many were killed, many succeeded in cutting their way through the Saxon lines. Those who escaped kept together, and marched

right across the kingdom to the Danish settlements in Essex. "When they came into Essex, to their forces and their ships, then the survivors again gathered a great army, from amongst the East Angles and the Northumbrians, before winter, and committed their wives and their ships, and their wealth to the East Angles, and went at one stretch, day and night, until they arrived at a western city in Wirral, which is called Legaceaster, (Chester.) Then were the forces (of King Alfred) unable to come up with them before they were in the fortress; nevertheless, they beset the fortress about for some two days and took all the cattle that were there without, and slew the men whom they were able to overtake without the fortress, and burned all the corn, and with their horses ate it every evening." The invaders, thus pressed and straitened, fled into North Wales, but were unable to stay there, because they had been deprived of the cattle and the corn which they had taken. Finding it impossible to subsist there, the Danish army crossed over into Northumberland, that is, into Lancashire; "and, marching over Northumberland and East Anglia, in such wise that the forces (of King Alfred) could not overtake them before they came to the eastern parts of the land of Essex; to an island that is out on the sea, which (strangely enough) is called Mersey."

Having traced the campaigns of Alfred with Hasten up to the point when Alfred drove the Danes out of Mercia into Northumberland,—that is, from Cheshire into Lancashire,—it is not necessary to follow them further in detail. In the following year several desperate battles were fought on the banks of the Thames and the Severn, but the war did not extend to the banks of the river Mersey. In the succeeding year, 897, the entire army of Hasten broke up in despair, some for East Anglia, some for North-humbria, and others fled across the sea to plunder on the banks of the Seine. The Northumbrian Danes still continued to be very formidable to the Saxons. Besides plundering the lands on the frontiers, they sailed round the coasts in a kind of vessels called Esks, which they had built many years before. "Then King Alfred commanded long ships to be built to oppose the esks: they were full-nigh twice as long as the others; some had sixty oars, and some had more; they were built swifter and slenderer, and also higher than the others. They were shaped neither like the Frisian nor the Danish, but so as it seemed to him they would be more efficient." This was the commencement of the Royal Navy of England.

In the year 901 died Alfred, the son of Ethelwolf, six days before the mass of All Saints He was King over the whole English nation, "except," adds the chronicler, "that part which was under the dominion of the Danes." The part thus excepted included, even to the end of his reign, everything north of the Mersey and the Humber, and a number of strong positions in Mercia and East Anglia.

The great objects of Edward the Elder, the son and successor of Alfred and Ethelfleda, the heroic daughter of Alfred, who was married to Ethelred, the Alderman or Earl of Mercia, were to complete the conquests of Mercia, and to fortify the northern frontier against the Northumbrians.

In the year 911 the Northumbrians themselves began the war, for they despised the peace which King Edward and his "witan" offered them, and overran the land of Mercia. After collecting great booty, they were overtaken, on their march home, by the forces of the West Saxons and the Mercians, who put them to flight, and slew many thousands of them. Two Danish kings and five earls were slain in this battle. Amongst the Earls slain was Agmund, the governor, from whom the hundred of Agmunderness, now written Amounderness, was probably named.

From this time there was constant war between the son and daughter of Alfred, and the Danes of Mercia and Northumberland. They armed and fortified the chief towns of Mercia, including Hertford, Tamworth, Bridgenorth, Warwick, and Stafford. In the years 914 and 915 Ethelfleda fortified the whole line of the river Mersey, beginning at Runcorn, where the river is more easy passable than at any other part of the estuary; forming another fortress at Warburton, above Warrington; and a third, in a position of considerable strength, at Eddesbury, in Delamere Forest. To give greater strength to this line of defence, Edward, her brother, fortified Thelwall, on the river Mersey, restored the walls of Chester, and sent an army across the Mersey, to take possession of Manchester in Northumberland, and to repair and man it. Thus the tide of war which had flowed from Northumberland into Mercia and the West Saxon land, in the time of Alfred, was fairly beaten back to the banks of the Mersey and the Humber, by his son and daughter.

Edward the Elder died in the year 925, and was succeeded by his son Athelstane, and in the following year he obtained the kingdom of Northumberland, and even made war against Constantine, King of Scotland. In

the year 937 his dominions were invaded by an immense host, commanded by Anlaf, the Danish King of Dublin, by Constantine, King of Scotland, and by all the chiefs and earls of the western seas. A great battle took place between this host and the army of the West Saxons and Mercians, commanded by Athelstane, and Edward, his brother, in which the invaders were defeated with enormous loss. One of the Saxon Chronicles, in the account which it gives of this battle says, A. 937. This year Athelstane, and Edmund, his brother, led a force to Brunenburh, and there fought against Anlaf, and Christ helping, had the victory; and slew five kings and seven earls. Sharon Turner, in his History of the Anglo-Saxons, states that great doubt exists as to the place where the battle was fought, but mentions Bromborough in Cheshire, on the south bank of the Mersey, as a probable site. It is certainly much more more likely than any other of the places which have been mentioned, namely, Bamboro', in the present county of Northumberland; Bourne, in Lincolnshire; and Banbury, in Oxfordshire. The expedition was fitted out at Dublin; was commanded by the Danish chief of that city; and the wreck of the army fled their after the fight, which took place on the sea shore. These circumstances are all mentioned in the splendid poem in honour of this victory, which is preserved in the Saxon Chronicle, and which is probably the finest speci men of Anglo-Saxon poetry now in existence.

Such are the principal events connected with the early history of the Valley of the Mersey, which appear to rest on probable evidence. At a subsequent time, but when it is impossible to say, the whole of South Lancashire was separated from the great Earldom of Northumberland, and united to the scarcely less powerful Earldom of Mercia, and, probably, at the same time, it was united to the Bishopric of Lichfield, of which it formed a part until the establishment of the Bishopric of Chester at the Reformation.

II.—Roscoe, and the influence of his Writings on the Fine Arts.

By Joseph Mayer, Esq., F.S.A., Hon. Curator.

"*Stassi il lauro lieto*" was the motto adopted by Roscoe on his seal, with the emblem of the laurel; and in allusion to it, a sonnet * was addressed to him, by one of his sons, in the year 1816.

How little did he think at that time, that in after years, his fellow-

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* "STASSI IL LAURO LIETO."

"Favour'd beyond each tree of field or grove,
Glad, and for ever green, the laurel stands;
Not to be pluck'd but by heroic hands,
And sacred to the majesty of Jove.

No lightning flash may smite it from above,
No whirlwinds rend it from its rooted bands;
Obedient to their master's high commands,
They spare the chosen plant he deigns to love.

So 'midst the tumults of this mortal state,
While thunders burst around, and storms assail,
The good man stands with mind and brow serene;
In cloud or sunshine still inviolate,
Confiding in a trust that cannot fail—
A sacred laurel, glad and ever green."

townsmen would assemble on the centenary† of his birthday, to do honour to his name, and again repeat

" Stassi il lauro lieto."

The quotation could not be more appropriately applied to any one than to William Roscoe, whose writings will remain to be read, alike with pleasure and instruction, in after ages; and the glad and evergreen laurel will in immortality encircle the head of our great townsman. But it is not either with the poetical or the historical genius of Roscoe that we have now to do. I ask indulgence for a short time, whilst I place his honoured name in another light, which I think will add a further claim on your admiration of his versatile genius—the influence of his writings on the Fine Arts throughout Europe, but more especially in his native country.

† The centenary was celebrated at Liverpool on the 8th of March, 1853, under the auspices of a committee of delegates from the Architectural and Archæological Society, the Chemists' Association, the Historic Society, the Literary and Philosophical Society, the Liverpool Academy, the Polytechnic Society, and the Royal Institution. The proceedings of the day commenced with a public breakfast in the Philharmonic Hall, the Earl of Sefton, lord lieutenant of the county, in the chair. The official address respecting the personal character of Roscoe, was delivered by W. Rathbone, Esq., and that on his literary character by the Rev. Dr. Hume. These were responded to by W. Caldwell Roscoe, Esq., grandson of the historian; and other interesting addresses were delivered by the Mayor of Liverpool, the Lord Bishop of Chester, the President of the Chetham society, the Stipendiary Magistrate of Liverpool, and the Rev. Dr. Raffles.—At two o'clock, the Derby Museum was formally opened to the public by the Mayor, accompanied by the Aldermen, Town Councillors, and other principal inhabitants. The inaugural address was delivered by the Mayor, and responded to by the Rev. Augustus Campbell, M.A., junior rector, on the part of the Trustees. Other interesting addresses were delivered by James A. Picton, Esq., F.S.A., chairman of the Library and Museum Committee of the Town Council, and by the Lord Bishop of Chester.—At three o'clock, the members of the local learned societies, the members of the Royal Institution, and other friends met in the theatre of the Royal Institution, where an interesting address was delivered by Joseph B. Yates, Esq., F.S.A., formerly President of the Institution and of the Literary and Philosophical Society. The Rev. Dr. Raffles, in moving a vote of thanks, stated some interesting reminiscences of Roscoe.—Mr. Mayer's Egyptian Museum having been generously thrown open to the company during the day, many paid a visit to it; others inspected the museum and gallery of the Royal Institution; and a few called at the Athenæum library to examine the Roscoe memorials deposited there.—In the evening, a brilliant *soiree* was given by the Mayor, at which upwards of a thousand ladies and gentlemen were present, in the magnificent suite of apartments in the Town-hall. The proceedings embraced a short vocal and instrumental concert, and were varied by the introduction of the following subjects of interest:—Illustrated Books, presided over by Mr. Picton and Mr. Fernihough; Miscellaneous Zoology and Botany, Dr. Dickinson and Mr. T. C. Archer; Local Antiquities, Dr. Hume and Mr. Mayer; Rare Manuscripts and Books of Art, Jos. B. Yates, Esq.; Original Letters of Roscoe, and Articles of Vertu, Mr. Jas. Boardman; Architectural Models and Stereoscopes, Mr. H. P. Horner and Mr. Newlands; Microscopes, Dr. Inman, Dr. J. B. Edwards, and Messrs. Byerley and Cauty. —A medal was struck for the occasion, by Mr. Mayer, of Lord street; a bronze bust was issued by Mr. Flower, of Bold street; the Poems of Roscoe were published by Mr. Young, of Castle street; and numerous other works were privately printed for presentation. An account of the whole was published under the title of " *The Liverpool Tribute to Roscoe*," by Mr. Baines, of the Liverpool Times office, Castle street.—Ed.

It is well known in how poor and feeble a state the arts of painting and sculpture were at the latter end of the eighteenth century, when conventionalism of style prevailed in all the schools of art in Europe: the only encouragement being at that period confined to the patronage of the church; with very few exceptions, in the orders given by crowned heads, and the high nobility of caste. We owe much to the fascinating writings of Roscoe, to whom it was reserved, in his lives of Lorenzo de Medicis and Leo X., to revive the love of those ennobling arts—painting and sculpture, which have grown in our time to a healthy strength, more especially in the schools of our own country. They have also for ever set at rest the pedantic assertion, that our climate was inimical to the growth of true genius.

But it was long before the life of Lorenzo issued from the almost obscure local press of Mr. M'Creery, at Liverpool, that we find a little band of lovers of art, who had caught the inspiration of the gifted Roscoe, forming themselves into a society for "the promotion and encouragement of art." It was in 1783, by this young society, that Liverpool was first taught that possession of mere wealth is not the only means of happiness; but that there is something beyond it, which must be attained before we arrive at either greatness or true enjoyment of life—the cultivation of the intellect and taste. We accordingly find here the honoured names of Roscoe, Taylor, Daulby, M'Morland, Green, Gregson, and others, associated with the delivery of well-written, earnest essays on the arts of design, painting, sculpture, and engraving, in a small room in John Street, to an attentive audience, who listened to the first teachings on the beauties of art.

There was an academy for drawing established prior to 1783, as will be seen from the following extract of a letter from Mr. Thomas Taylor, the Secretary, dated 28th Oct., 1783, and addressed to Mr. John Leigh Phillips, of Manchester.*

"I am glad you approve of our intended academy. We have not launched forth in a pompous manner, yet the promoters of it show much zeal for its

* John Leigh Phillips, Esq., a gentleman of well known taste, was one of the intimate friends of Roscoe, and collector of the works of Rembrandt, in amicable rivalry with Daniel Daulby, Esq., and whose name will be ever dear to the lovers of art, for the liberal patronage which he so kindly bestowed upon Wright, of Derby, who painted for him the "Dead Soldier" (and whose memoirs he wrote); as well as Westall, and many other artists, who always found in him a kind friend in the hour of need. It is through the kindness of Mrs. Phillips, of Belle Vue, who presented me with a series of letters addressed to her father-in-law, Mr. John Leigh Phillips, of Manchester, that I am enabled to fix the site of the house in which the first Exhibition was held. The accompanying wood-cut is a correct view of it.

establishment, and it has met with great encouragement from the inhabitants of Liverpool; not only such as have a taste for the art of painting, but from many who have never shewn any disposition that way. I shall enclose you a plan of the institution, which we have thought proper to have printed, that the design of the institution might be rightly understood. I have no doubt it will be a very useful one, and setting London aside, I don't think there is any place in the kingdom where better instruction may be had on these subjects. Roscoe is to open it this day week, and I venture to say his lecture will be a high treat. It is his favourite pursuit; and it was his Ode on a similar institution here some years since, which established his title to poetic fame. He has much at heart the re-establishing of the academy; and has endeavoured, in forming the plan, to avoid the rock on which the former split, which was, that it was made to rest entirely on the artists. They being transient inhabitants, the matter dropt when they left town; but now the artists are secondary instruments only, the principal parts are in the hands of residents."

Mr. Taylor again names the academy in a letter dated November 25, 1783:—

"I hope you intend coming to Liverpool. We wish you to see our academy, which goes on charmingly. We meet every evening to draw for about a couple of hours, and some excellent things have been produced. We have now completely fitted up the room, and a very comfortable place it is. The lectures have been very clever; Roscoe's was one of the most elegant compositions I ever heard. The succeeding ones have been on anatomy, by [Dr.] Turner, and very clever indeed. Next Thursday we have a chemical one, and, on Thursday following, Morland mounts. [11th December, 1783, on "The Theory of Painting."] I have attempted to draw with them, but find it very difficult at first; but I mean to persevere. Wakefield [Gilbert] will draw in a masterly manner, I never saw one so fond of it; but Morland will carry the palm away from them all, and does in my opinion now, though it is a kind of work he is not used to."

In a short time afterwards, when, by means of the lectures, the seeds of desire to know more had been sown; the society, feeling their own growing strength, were desirous of illustrating their hitherto theoretical arguments by actual practical observation. Mr. Roscoe started the idea of an exhibition of works of art, which was responded to with a warmth of feeling, and carried out with an energy of purpose, that redound to the credit of all concerned; and a prospectus was prepared and afterwards prefixed to the Catalogue.

As soon as this prospectus was issued and distributed, replies to it were received from some of the first artists in the country, as well as from many amateurs,—those lovers of art for its own sake, whose works are always to be viewed with a lenient eye, and for whom the pen of criticism should ever be prepared with forbearance. In a letter from the secretary,

Mr. Taylor, addressed to Mr. Phillips, 4th May, 1784, alluding to the exhibition, he says, "We have got an excellent place for the exhibition, a large new house of Roscoe's, in the middle of his new street." This was the house in Rodney Street afterwards the residence of Pudsey Dawson, Esq., whose son the present Pudsey Dawson, Esq., of Hornby Castle, was born there, and more recently occupied by the late Mr. Egerton Smith. Now came the anxious moment; we read of the receipt of "large cases of pictures from various quarters," and in September, 1784, the first exhibition was opened in Liverpool.

On looking over the names of contributors, it will be seen that Mr. Roscoe himself contributed two pieces, Nos. 142 and 143; and that he had some knowledge of drawing may be seen by the etching which he made, as the admission ticket for the following exhibition, which took place in 1787. He made a great many others, amongst which are several book-plates which he executed *con amore* for his friends, some of them displaying great originality as regards the design and a free style of handling the dry point. It is not generally known that he executed several of the etchings in his great work on Monandrian plants, from drawings made by himself.

Henry Blundell, Esq., of Ince Blundell, the collector of the celebrated gallery of antique marbles, was also a great encourager of art, and the president of the first Liverpool Exhibition. Through the representations of Roscoe, soon after the founding of the Royal Institution, Mr. Blundell bequeathed the munificent sum of £1600 towards founding a gallery of art in Liverpool. One statue in the collection at Ince, the "Theseus," was considered by Flaxman to be one of the finest statues in the world.

Of the early Art education of Mr. Roscoe, we have an account in a short memoir of his early life, written by himself, in which he says that he used to assist the painters employed at a china manufactory, then absorbing the attention of the potters in Liverpool, who, at this early stage of the ceramic art had arrived at great perfection. Indeed, Liverpool claims the honour of being the nursing mother of most of those best artists, afterwards employed with so much success by Josiah Wedgwood, who for many years was even wont to send his ware to Liverpool to be ornamented. It was at this early period that Mr. Roscoe received instruction from Mr. Hugh Mulligan, an engraver for the potters, as well as a painter of porcelain, and whom, in after life, Mr. Roscoe never forgot; as I find recorded by a mutual friend, in an account prefixed to a portrait of Mulligan. He says of him, "Poor Hugh! tread lightly on his ashes ye men of goodness, for

he was your friend! Poor little Mully! the kindest hearted of all mortals, the most philanthropic, benevolent, and sensible creature that ever groped his way through the world in chill penury, blind alleys, or the garrets and souterrains of gaunt poverty. Like a sensitive plant among thistles, or St. Fond beset by bagpipes, didst thou pass through this purgatory without any real solace but an excellent heart, thy Sarah possessing every imaginary perfection of the dulcinea adored by the inimitable Knight of La Mancha, and thy beloved pipe of tobacco. These were thy domestic enjoyments; and abroad, the kind notice of William Roscoe, and his amiable family, consoled thy gentle soul for every hardship, for every insult, to which thou wast for ever liable."

Amongst the many artists who at this time enjoyed the friendship of Mr. Roscoe, may be named George Stubbs, the animal painter; Henry Hole, the wood engraver, a pupil of Bewick; William Hughes, wood engraver, afterwards appointed engraver to the Prince-Regent; Mather Brown, the painter of the picture of the parting of Louis XVI. and his family; John Williamson, who painted the first portrait of Mr. Roscoe, (now exhibited.) And at a later period, Samuel Williamson, the landscape painter; Mr. Crouchley, the sculptor, whose sketch of the transfiguration received the commendation of Mr. Roscoe as a more consistent work than that of Raffaele, inasmuch as the group was more in unity of design than that of the great Florentine painter; Mr. Austin, the well-known water-colour draughtsman, whose original sketch of the house in which Mr. Roscoe was born is now before you, together with a letter of Mr. Roscoe's, confirming it as the place of his birth. We may also include the name of Mr. Thomas Dodd, of whose extensive knowledge of prints Mr. Roscoe availed himself, when illustrating Lanzi's history of Italian art. Mr. Dodd was an extraordinary instance of the results of perseverance. Being self-instructed, he became so thoroughly acquainted with the old masters, that if any doubt arose as to the authority of a print, Mr. Dodd's opinion was considered conclusive. During a long life he collected materials for a Biographical Dictionary of Engravers in England, commencing at the earliest period at which the art was practised, 1550 to 1800; the series of manuscripts forming nearly forty volumes, which he finished only a few days before his death.*

The great success of the exhibition stimulated the committee to con-

* This took place in Liverpool, August, 1850. See Memoirs, Gentlemans' Mag.

tinued exertions; and we find the number of students increasing, and the academy growing more and more useful every day. In course of time, genius shewed itself so rife, that a second exhibition was determined on, in which will be seen the name of our townsman, Deare, who, under the guidance of Mr. Roscoe, soon made himself an honourable name. He was sent out by the Royal Academy to study in Rome, where, shortly afterwards, being attacked by malaria, he took fever and died. He was followed to his last resting place by nearly all the artists in Rome, who threw laurels on his grave, in token of their admiration of his talents.

Thus, we find the reputation of the taste of Liverpool increasing, by the number of pictures sent to it; and amongst the contributers, we notice several names, which in after years, ranked high in art. But soon all the fond hopes of its founders were blasted by the breaking out of the French war, which shook the foundations of all society. In the midst of the general panic, the society for the encouragement of art became paralysed, and then died away; but in the meantime, Mr. Roscoe was silently and steadily collecting, with good judgment, a series of etchings of the old masters, a knowledge of whose works from actual observation, enabled him to write the preface to Strut's Dictionary of Engravers. This has been considered the best introduction to the subject treated of that has yet appeared, and has been translated into most of the modern languages.

During a long series of years devoted to a cultivation of art, Mr. Roscoe was in the habit of recording his observations on it by writing treatises on the various subjects which it embraces, and we find amongst his manuscripts several works which were probably intended for future publication. Amongst these may be named "A historical sketch of the state of the fine arts during the middle ages;" "On the origin of engraving on wood and copper;" "On the use of prints;" "On the practical part of painting;" "On the origin and progress of taste;" with many others, some of which were delivered as lectures at the meeting of the Society of Arts, and it is much to be regretted he did not live to see them through the press. Coming from the pen of one so singularly gifted with the power of discrimination, they would have been a delight to the educated, as well as an invaluable boon to the student in art. The preface to Mr. Daniel Daulby's catalogue of the Etchings of Rembrandt, we also owe to the pen of Mr. Roscoe. Mr. Daulby was brother-in-law to Mr. Roscoe, who often gave him the benefit of his advice in his purchases; and it was to the zeal of Mr. Daulby

as a collector of the etchings of the old masters, that Liverpool owed the distinguished honour of possessing the most complete collection at that time known. Unfortunately at the death of Mr. Daulby, they were dispersed, and many of them now grace the national collections of Europe, where, in speaking of them, they are always alluded to as having formed part of "the celebrated Daulby collection."

Mr. Roscoe had many offers of great pecuniary advantage to induce him to write a history of the rise and decline of art in Italy, but his declining health forbade him accepting such engagements. He says in one of his letters, that art history is the subject he should like to write upon, it being his favourite study, but his age and delicate health are the great causes for his declining such engagements, which would involve him in more labour than he felt capable of undertaking.

Of the numerous artists who reaped advantages from the elegant conversation of Mr. Roscoe, and were admitted to share in his friendships and patronage, we must not omit the name of the great sculptor Gibson, our townsman, for whom Mr. Roscoe ever showed a kind of paternal solicitude. He was a principal means of Gibson's going to study in Rome, whence he often wrote to his early patron, and ever with that feeling of gratitude experienced by enlightened minds. We find him acknowledging the benefits he received from the permission which Mr. Roscoe gave him to copy some of his rare prints, at that time unattainable in Liverpool. They were from the old masters, and probably were a great means of fostering that love of purity of design so manifest in the early works of Gibson, and visible in the sketches now lying on the table before you. Such was the enthusiasm of Gibson throughout life, that in a letter in my possession, dated May 8, 1835, he says, "The beautiful medal of Mr. Roscoe, which you have so generously sent me, has given me more than one pleasure; the pleasure of seeing the old philosopher executed in this form, of seeing the beauty of the workmanship, and the pleasure of possessing this token of your kind remembrance. * * Time and hard-working have made me known, brought me encouragement and some credit. If I live some years longer, I hope to turn out something better than what I have hitherto done. I find myself improving, for I always endeavour to make the last work my best; the only ambition which rouses me in this world is that my name shall not die with my body. Whilst I am working on a marble statue, I spare no pains, forget profit, and say to myself—When this figure is hereafter found broken to pieces in the earth, every fragment of it shall rivet attention."

To show how nearly allied are the feelings of all great men, it may not be out of place to quote a passage from one of the letters of Mr. Roscoe, addressed to the Earl of Buchan, November 1, 1819. "I rejoice to find that you still continue to employ yourself in munificent plans for preserving the remains of antiquity, and the promotion of works of art. Philosophers may say what they please of posthumous fame, but I believe there never was an elevated mind that did not feel an invincible desire to leave a memorial of its existence on the records of the age, for the observation of future times."

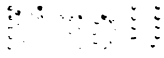
Many were the works executed by Gibson, at the suggestion of Mr. Roscoe; but one we cannot omit to mention from the vigour and originality of the design—Alexander depositing the works of Homer, which was long placed on the mantle-piece of his patron, and is now in the library of the Royal Institution. Among the numerous life-sizes, miniatures, busts, and bas-relief portraits of Mr. Roscoe, there has been none equal to or conveying so just a likeness as the one by Gibson. That by Sir F. Chantry, at the gallery of arts, is one of those mistaken idealisations which are too often indulged in by the most eminent of artists; as we see in it very few of the lineaments of that high-souled, benevolent man, which we used to observe when looking at the original. Besides these, there were likenesses by Mr Alexander Mosses, portrait painter; Mr. Thomas Hargreaves, to whom we owe the best miniature of Mr. Roscoe; Mr. Griffiths, also a miniature painter, whose portrait of Gibson, the sculptor, taken a few days before his leaving England, is a good example of his talents. Henry Fuseli, R A., painted several subjects from the works of Mr. Roscoe, and to him Mr. Roscoe addressed an Ode of very great poetical and artistic feeling.

The interesting memoir written some years ago by his son Henry has given us, with the full feeling of a dutiful child's affection, the most important features in the life of Mr. Roscoe; and I feel that the attempt which I have made to add anything to them in which to interest you, may have been unsatisfactory. I hope for your indulgence, as there has not been any want of desire to add my humble contribution to the honors of the man. Perhaps I have failed in expressing those feelings of veneration for the poet and philosopher, which ever inspired me from the early day when I first saw him; and conscious as I am that I cannot add a leaf to the laurels that surround his brow, still, with an humble voice, united with that of thousands of his admirers, I can repeat—

"Stassi il lauro lieto."

ALEXANDER DEPOSITING THE WORKS OF HOMER.

HISTORY AND PAINTING CROWNING THE BUST OF ROSCOE.



SIXTH MEETING.

Collegiate Institution, 14th April, 1853.

DAVID THOM, D.D., Vice-President, in the Chair.

PROCEEDINGS.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Certificates of five Candidates for Membership were read for the first time.

The following gentlemen were duly elected:—

Arthur Ellis, Melville Place, Oxford Street, Liverpool.
Richard Houghton, Crosby.
Henry Lyon, Appleton Hall, Cheshire.
Thomas Bromfield Ryder, Cuthbert's Buildings, Liverpool.
Charles Turner, Dingle Head, Liverpool.
James Vose, M.D., 5, Gambier Terrace, Liverpool.

The following DONATIONS to the Society were laid upon the table:—

1. From the *Societies*.

	Memoires de la Société d'Emulation d'Abbeville, 1849, 1850, 1851, et le premiere semistre de 1852.
	Archæologia Cambrensis for April, 1853.

2. From *other* Donors.

From J. G. Jacob, Esq.	Four silver coins, three of them being of the English Edwards, and coined at Bristol, London, and Waterford, respectively; the fourth bearing the inscription, "Alexander Dei Gra Rex Scotorum."
From Saml. M'Culloch, Esq., LL.D.	Life of the late Samuel M'Culloch, a member of the Society, by the Rev. Dr. Thom.

From James Stonehouse, Esq.	Various autographs of eminent persons.
	"Ode on the institution of a Society in Liverpool for the encouragement of designing, drawing, painting, &c., read before the Society, December 13, 1773.
From John Grindlay.	A local Act of Parliament of 1799, to amend the acts relating to the harbour of Liverpool, to make two wet docks, &c.
From Rev. P. S. Dale.	MS. sermons preached in Warburton Church, Cheshire, by the Rev. Richard Grimshaw, shortly after 1660.
	Arrangement for the funeral procession of the Earl and Countess of Derby, at Ormskirk, 4th March, 1776.
	Curious placard issued by John Houghton, respecting the destruction of two pillars in front of his residence near Trueman street.
	A local satire, under the form of an auction of the books of Bamber Gascoigne, Esq.

The following articles were EXHIBITED:—

By Richard Pedder, Esq., Preston.	A curious antique silver ring, on one side of the top was a heart, and on the other, in old English letters, "Jesus."
By Dr. Hume.	A specimen of sandstone highly elastic, procured at a quarry near Delhi, in India.
By Thomas D. Hibbert, Esq., London.	A document entitled, Inquisitio post mortem, Francis Orrell, of ffarington, Com Lancaster, 15 March, 16th James I. (1619–20.)
	Additional letters of the Bateman series.
By Dr. Kendrick.	An excellent likeness in profile, of Gilbert Wakefield, Esq.
	A catalogue of Mr. Roscoe's books, as sold 19th August, 1816, with prices annexed.
By Jas. Stonehouse, Esq.	A curiously carved tobacco pipe, of wood.
By John Orr.	A volume of Henry Stephens' Greek Test., 1576.

Mr. Gath drew attention to the fact of the death of another member, William Dalrymple, Esq.

A copy of the *Tasmanian Colonist*, (Van Dieman's Land) of September 6, 1852, was laid upon the table, containing a report of part of the

Society's proceedings. This is the second Australian newspaper in which notices of the Society have been discovered. *Vide* p. 73.

A communication was read from Mr. Boardman, suggesting the propriety of placing an inscription at the corner of Hope street and Mount Pleasant, indicating the position of Mr. Roscoe's birthplace.

Two additional letters were read, addressed by F. D. Browne (Mrs. Hemans) to Matthew Nicholson, Esq., the one dated August 11th, 1810, the other July, 1811. The former exhibited a clear impression of her seal, which consisted of the three initial letters of her name placed triangularly, with a lyre in the centre.

Dr. Hume explained the nature of the memorial which was about to be forwarded by Societies and Institutions in the town, inviting the British Association for the Advancement of Science to meet here next year. Deputies had also been appointed to give effect to the invitation at Hull. The former meeting was held in Liverpool, in 1837.

PAPERS.

I.—An Account of Mains Hall, near Poulton, the Hiding-place of Cardinal Allen, in the time of Queen Elizabeth.

By the Rev. Wm. Thornber, B.A., Blackpool.

According to the Doomsday Survey, six carucates of land were assigned to Singleton, and in the reign of King John, Alan de Singleton is recorded as being its local lord. He was a considerable landed proprietor in the hundred —a person of authority, who acted as king's bailiff within the wapentakes of Amounderness and Blackburn, and made attachments and executions of writs, and attachments of pleas of the crown, by warrant of the serjeantry which was annexed and appurtenant to his manor of Little Singleton. In the early pedigree there is some confusion, owing to the common custom of mesne lords witnessing deeds, at one time by the appellation of one property, then of another, thus :—William, the son of the second Allan, in the chartulary of Whalley Abbey, sometimes signs his name William Singleton, and sometimes William Thorneton, because of his property in that township. It would seem that the first Allan was a favourite with King John, if we are to give credence to a well-authenticated tradition, which tells us, that whilst Earl of Moreton, he frequently visited his fief of Singleton, as well as the grange of Staining, where he became acquainted with Geoffrey Balistrarius, the ancestor of the Sherburns, and whose valour in

the Irish wars he rewarded by grant of lands in our neighbourhood. It was by such acts as these that the King, both as Earl of Moreton and King John, however he might be estimated in other parts of the kingdom, was popular in Lancashire. His gifts of lands and quitclaims to the church were numerous. Parva Singleton was held by the local family till the reign of the first Edward, when it passed to the Banisters; from Richard, Allan, William, Allan Singleton to Thomas, who, dying without issue, left a sister, Johanna, the wife of Thomas Banastre, now conceded by genealogists to have been of the same family as the Banisters of the Bank. This latter Thomas had a son William, father of Sir Adam, a turbulent knight, who was parent of Thomas, whose lands were escheated to the Duchy in the 7th of Richard II. Parva Singleton next fell to the lot of the repacious Edmund Dudley, who was attainted and executed A.D. 1510, and afterwards, doubtless by grant of the escheat, it came into the hands of Thomas, Earl of Derby, who held it of the King, 13th Hen. VIII.

I have given the above brief account of Little Singleton, because Mains Hall is situated within that manor, and because there, I believe, we shall find the site of the mansion where the mesne local lords issued laws to their vassals and free tenants, and where they passed their lives, not indeed in luxury and splendour, but in a manner which the humblest gentleman or tradesman would at present deem as pitiful and mean. Certainly, the local family would locate themselves on the ground, whence they derived their power. The serjeantry of Amounderness and Blackburn was annexed to the manor of Little Singleton, as before mentioned. I have remarked, moreover, that in the Fylde the hamlets styled "Little Tons," in contradistinction to their parents, "Great Tons," invariably have had their rise from having been either the locality of the seat of the mesne lord, as at Little Carleton, &c.; or of the grange of some Abbey, as at Little Poulton, Little Bispham, &c. I am not aware of any instance indicating that the mesne lord and the churchman erected their hall and grange at the same side of the township. Here, too, on the banks of the Wyre, was the most eligible spot for a resident family, and the name "Mains," evidently demesne, marks the lord's land around his mansion. I feel that I am treading on tender ground, for my neighbours have supposed, why, I know not, that this estate was a grange, dignified as usual here, with the name of hall, after the reformation, and had belonged, together with Poulton, to the Priory of St. Mary's, at Lancaster, and afterwards to Sion Abbey: thus, owing to the acknowledged right of the Cister-

cian farmers to become tithe free, I know that Roger de Poictou, in his sweeping charter, gave to St. Mary's, of Lancaster, the tithes of poultry, calves, lambs, goats, swine, &c., and cheese and butter in Singleton: also, that there was a grange in Great Singleton, still recognized by that name; but never have I read or heard of any papers having reference to another grange in the other division of the township. And this may be corroborated by the following fact:—In an agreement made in the reign of Edward III, between the Prior of Lancaster and Sir Adam Banister, the knight consents to grant two roads across his lands, for the use of the servants and carriages of the churchman's vassals and tenants. Now one of these roads ran across the manor of Little Singleton, and beneath Mains Hall, from the towns of Pulton and Thorneton to Singleton Park, by the way to the ford of Aldwather—i. e. the Shard—in the Wyre. Why ask permission to traverse Little Singleton, if it were the property of his priory? Why desirous of a road to Singleton Park, unless the Prior of St. Mary's owned it? This park was in Great Singleton, a portion of the grange, a park that needed no "licentia imparcandi," since it was merely a parcel of enclosed ground, used, most likely, for the herding of cattle from the out pastures.

I have had no opportunity of learning when the Hesketh—of whom it is my object more especially to write—purchased the Mains. By patent of 20 James I, possession was given of several estates belonging to the crown, among which was the "manor or lordship of Singleton, alias Singleton Magna in the several tenures of the different tenants there." The Mains may have been purchased at this time. The Hesketh, however, it is evident from dates on the walls, made great alterations in this reign: whether they had occupied it previously, I do not assert; certainly they held it in tenure in the time of Elizabeth, if not earlier. Like many other families, they had been brought into the Fylde either by marriage with a local proprietor's daughter, or more probably by the purchase of Abbey property, during the convulsion of society at, and after the dissolution of religious houses. William Hesketh, who married Elizabeth, the daughter of John Allen, of Rossal, is first styled of Poulton. They soon, however, formed other connections in the neighbourhood, and their marriages and intermarriages with the Westbys, of Mowbrick and Bourne, the Andertons, of Euxton, and the Allens, of Rosshall, stamp their religious and political bias; but it is their connection with the last-named family that renders

their pedigree interesting; otherwise, it might have been consigned without loss to oblivion. I shall not, however, trouble you with the whole of it, as it may be found in the Visitation of 1613. Thus much may be necessary. The Hesketh sprang from the first wife of Bartholomew, the illegitimate son of William Hesketh, of Rufford Hall, and they became extinct in James, of Mains, who, after assuming the maiden name of his mother, Brockholes, and at the decease of Catherine, her sister the Duchess of Norfolk, becoming possessed of Claughton, devised, at the death of his infant daughter, his estates to W. Fitzherbert, the brother of his wife, and second son of Thomas, of Swinnerton Hall, county Stafford, with injunction to take the name and arms of Brockholes; thus cutting off his own sister, whose issue, until lately, resided at Larbreck, but are now extinct.

I have said that the Hesketh, of Mains, were conspicuous principally on account of their connection with the Allens, of Rossal Grange, and since enquiries have been made of me, through a friend, for Dr. Lingard, and of late by many others interested in the genealogy of Cardinal Allen, I shall not be deemed intrusive, if I suggest, that Wood and Dodd have omitted a generation; because in the genealogy of the Allens of Brook House, a John of Rossal, who is mentioned as the father-in-law of Radulph, must must have been earlier than John Allen, the father, or even George, the grandfather of the Cardinal, to have had a daughter married in the reign of Richard III., 1483-5; as the churchman was born 1532.

John, not George Allen, the grandfather of the Cardinal, was the first lessee of Rossal, a grange of Deulacress, county Stafford, which he held on a long lease, by favour of the Abbot, his relative. In the 20th of Richard II, A.D. 1397, Whittle names him as a donor to the fraternities of Preston Guild, and described as of Ross-hall. This family must not be confounded, as is usual, with the Allens of Brook house, Staffordshire. They had different arms—that of Rossal bearing argent 3 conies, or rabbits passant, sable; the other party per chev., gules and ermine, in the upper part two lions heads erased or. Their pedigree, so long sought, is as follows:—John Allen, of Rosshall, had a daughter and son; Elizabeth, the wife of Ralph Allen, of Brookhouse, and George, whose son John, by marriage with Joan, daughter of ——— Lyster, of Westby, county York, had Gabriel, who died in Italy; Richard, William the Cardinal, George the eldest, and Elizabeth, the wife of William Hesketh, of Poolton. This

George married Elizabeth, daughter of William Westby, of Westby and Mowbrick, and had three daughters,—Mary, Catherine, a nun at Louvain, and Helen; and one son John, the husband of the daughter and heiress of ——— Carleton, of Carleton, by whom he had a daughter, living A.D. 1620, and the wife of Thomas Worthington, of Blainscoe, and the Holmes in Thornton. The old grange, where this family of the Allens resided, and where the Cardinal was born, stood at Fenny, near Rossal Point, the conjunction of the sea and river Wyre. It was not the Rossal Hall now converted into a college:—the pet saying of Gabriel, the priest's brother—"Merrie days of hie away to Rossal Point"—determines the spot. And here, formerly, the remains of such a building existed. The vast inroads of the sea have now washed away the thick red sand-stone gable wall, which an old man, of 104 years of age, told me he remembered, when young, covered with ivy, and tottering over the brink of the cliff. Here, also, have been disclosed an ancient hand stone mill, some monkish figures in alabaster, &c., and in the *churchyard field, adjoining, some human bones, within the foundations of a fabric, running east and west, and supposed to have been the site of the chantry of the grange, which were often small priories, like that of Staining, where, so early as the removal of Stanlaw to Whalley, two monks, Lene and Niger, were stationed. On the warren, also, close by, a spot named the Abbot's Walk, carries us back to the days when the head of Deulacress visited his tenant of Rossal.

Of the Cardinal, tradition reports little more, than that whilst in hiding at the halls of Mains and Layton, he disseminated treasonous tracts, and was desirous that the Spanish Armada should effect a landing on the English shores, at the Peel of Foudrey, and in the Wyre. This is no foolish tradition. In a book, dated 1671, I find it related that the Jesuit parsons encouraged King Phillip, whose surname was Norway, or Norroway, to attempt an invasion, by citing this old prophecy:—

> "Between Boston's bay
> And the Pile of Foudray,
> Shall be seen the black navy of Norway."

Moreover, I read this in the Lansdowne MSS., endorsed—Touchinge a plac, called the Pille in Lanc., a dangerous place for Landinge.—"What

* This has been mistaken for the Chapel of All Hallows, which Leland places at the mouth of the Wyre. Bispham Church and the houses adjacent, now called Churchtown, are the chapel and village of All Hallows; as a legend on a lately restored sacramental cup manifests.

the Spanyerd means to do, the Lord knowes, for all the countrye being knowne to Doctor Allen, (who was born hard by the pyle) and inhabytentes ther aboutes, all ynfected with his Romish poyson, yt is not unlike, but his directione will be vsed for some landing ther." The Armada landed not; but one of its scattered ships was stranded for some hours opposite the confiscated home of the traitor Allen. When the translation of a rare old latin manuscript, entitled Concertatio, which I am in hopes of seeing published by a reverend Roman Catholic friend, shall appear, many other things will be revealed, to illustrate the period of the Spanish invasion; for I am informed that it tells us how Fleetwood purchased of the king the fee of Rossal Grange—how he deprived the Cardinal's nieces of the estate of Todderstaff, the gift of one of their uncles—how the deeds were stolen when Rossal was plundered at night by the sheriff and his people—how the sisters escaped, during this outrage, in a boat across the Wyre, and after wandering about for two weeks, by chance found their mother—and how, when by the instrumentality of a spy, £500 of their money had been discovered in a meal tub, at the house of one Anion, and confiscated, they were compelled to seek safety with their uncle, on the continent. The translation and publication of such a fund of local history, will be hailed with satisfaction by the readers in the Fylde.

We will return to Mains Hall, and we will approach it along the banks of the Wyre, the road that was granted by the Banisters to the Priory of Lancaster—the highway on the south, called the Mains Lane, is of modern construction. What a pleasant retreat! and how gracefully the river glides beneath the brow of the sloping hill, on which the hall is built. One glimpse shows us that it is, or has been, the residence of a family of consequence. There are woods, and gardens, and terraces, shaded avenues, fish ponds, and a large dovecot. But before we enter the precincts of the house, cast your eye on the tofts of alder trees, two or three in every field. They surround very ancient sladepits, i. e. marl holes, having two paces or slades. From these the land was tilled, when the Fylde roads were so impassable, that manure from any distance could not be obtained. But haste along, we will make our way up the Nun's Walk, this pleasant avenue of hazel trees. The back of the house, which, when first erected, was the front, has suffered less than other parts by modern alterations: it still retains nearly entire its prominent centre gable, with its two wings, all three being lighted by narrow ranges of windows. The present front, to

the south, consisted, not long ago, of three sides of a quadrangle; on the west, the wing now destroyed, a very antique building, within which was a hall-part, having a huge open chimney, and wainscotted with fluted oak of the reign of Henry VIII, now rotting unheeded in the garrets of the hall. From this hall-part was entered the pantry, and "chomer," which latter was fancifully paved in patterns, with various coloured small stones, formerly preferred in parlours to a flooring of flags. Here, also, when the workmen were pulling it down, was disclosed a priest hole, between a stack of chimneys, which had been entered from a small upper closet, by a ladder; a most uncomfortable cell, both dark and confined, where the wretched inmate, Dr. Allen, Father Campion, and the persecuted priest of Titus Oates, in succession, stretched his limbs on the straw that was found still littering the floor. On the east of the quadrangle is the chapel; the date of its erection is yet visible on the outward wall, 1626. We can contrive to enter it by the stables, the staircase from the outside having been removed years ago. Take heed how you tread on the time-worn boards. Since my last visit in 1845, it has been denuded of its interesting relics; even then desolation was triumphant. The picture of the Virgin, and her infant Son, had fallen from its position over the altar, the rails of which were mouldering in decay, and the walls green with damp. They were dead who had worshipped there: it had been venerated by them, ah! how dearly! An escutcheon spoke of the demise of one of the squires of the hall—various portions of scripture rules, dogmas and ordinances of the church of Rome, in worm-eaten frames, and covered with the dust of years, hung neglected—a sorrowful memento that there was no priest to minister, no devoted Anna to brush away the leaven of forgetfulness from the consecrated altar.

The hall in the centre of the quadrangle, had from time to time been altered and realtered, modernized and remodernized. It is now like an old lady, painted and decked out in showy attire, yet unable to disguise her antiquated features. It had been thatched in 1734, as I find from the following bill:—

For winskowing ye gable of ye ould hous.....	00	04	00
For 24 thrave of straw for ye ould hous, at 8d. per thrave	00	16	00
For drawing the straw into thack.....	00	03	00
For thatching ye ould hous	00	13	04

I must again refer to my last visit. The alterations of 1846 have almost

gutted the interior, so I am anxious to describe it as it appeared previously. "The old housekeeper met me at the door. Her grandmother and mother had occupied, like herself, the station as matron: from childhood to old age she had lived at the hall. If you would see her portrait, dip into one of the volumes of Mrs. A. Radcliffe, and you will find it; only perhaps the housekeepers of romance did not wear bed-gowns, with the lappets tucked up at each hip, and a pendant pincushion, with a goodly sized pair of scissors. I always thought her superior to any of Mrs. Radcliffe's creation; but she had one fault, to me a great one,—she was not garrulous, or what strange secrets might she not have revealed. I however fared not badly. You have read in German romance, of benighted travellers falling upon castles in the midst of forests, which, on entering, they found uninhabited; yet furnished with antique, massive household goods. The owners had deserted their property for years, and nothing had been disturbed. The tapestry still clothed the walls—the lady's lyre and books lay on the table—the embers were scattered on the hearth, and scraps of letters were strewed around. The intruder is expecting every moment the entrance of the lord of the domain, in the antiquated dress of bye-gone days. Just so appeared Mains Hall. Little or nothing had been removed since the death of the Hesketh, and for many a year before, the family had contented itself with the homely, but substantial furniture of their fathers. Even to the candlesticks and snuffers, every household article was a hundred and fifty years old. As I stood in the hall-part, the matron informed me—"That it was here that Madame Hesketh, in the absence of her husband, unwillingly entertained a marauding party of Scotch troopers, in the outbreak, 1715."

"And William Hesketh," said I, "acted prudently to absent himself; for I have heard my mother relate, that although in 1715 he escaped the notice of government through the kindness of the squire of Bankfield, his neighbour, yet he was aware that he was suspected of being friendly disposed towards the Pretender; so, under the surveillance of Mr. Tennant, of Poulton, he withdrew during the hubbub at Preston, to the secrecy of Rossal warren, where the deeds of his estate would be secure, and his person out of harm's way."

"Humph! the Pretender!" was the sharp reply of the dame.

We ascended the broad staircase into the drawing room. "This is now

our store room," said the housekeeper, "but the greatest in the land has trodden these boards." "Say you so?"

Whilst Mrs. Fitzherbert was sojourning with her relations, the Prince Regent paid her a visit at the Mains. This room looked not as it does at present. There was an antique costly glass between the windows, and in the panel over the fire place, was inserted a picture, much admired. I believe it was an historical painting of the Norfolks. There was a young man kneeling before one of the noble dukes, and presenting him with a sword. There had been a suite of rooms here, but the adjoining one had been converted into a bedchamber, during the sickness of the last of the Hesketh. It was furnished in keeping with the rest, containing a half canopied bed with dark hangings, a few heavy chairs, and a very old dressing glass. In the next, was a library of illuminated manuscripts and missals, without backs, in one of which I saw the autograph of Cardinal Allen, the ink yellow with age; also the rules of the Order of the Garter, written on vellum in the reign of Henry VIII., and having on the title page the crest and arms of Norfolk and Brockholes, surrounded with the garter. In a secret drawer I discovered a paper box, shaped like a heart, which was divided into many compartments, each encircling a piece of bone, a fragment of the body of some saint, for they were all labelled, though I forget with whose names. Leading from the library were two oratories, each lighted with two narrow apertures. In one, the squire had offered up his orisons—in the other, he had kept his accounts; for numerous bills of 1700, and earlier, were scattered about, suspended from the walls, and rolled up in the drawers of a curious cabinet; on the removal of which, some time after the visit I am describing, was found a picture of our Saviour's descent from the cross, of no merit, but so very vividly depicting his agony, the wound made by the spear, his head lacerated with thorns, and the drops of blood, like bullets, falling from his hands and feet, as to create a shudder of horror. It had been an ancient altar piece. From a corner of this closet the housekeeper produced a tall stick, which I should have pronounced to have belonged to a son of Anak, had not I seen some of our octogenarians walking with such, and grasping them, like Jacob his staff, about a foot from the top. This was ornamented with a cardinal's cap, a whistle, and with the date 1628, the legend "Periissem si non Periissem" wreathed round the lower part. Why a cardinal's cap?

and had it any reference to the churchman Allen? These questions are as perplexing as the device. The true rendering of the latter, however, I am now acquainted with. In the reign of Robert the Third, of Scotland, Sir W. Anstruther, called Fisher Willie, of the castle of Dreel, killed the laird of Thirdpart, who was plotting to pay him the same compliment. The king not only pardoned him, but gave him a new coat of arms, with a motto similar to that on the stick at Mains hall, consisting of two verbs of the same construction, but different meanings. The legend may be translated thus—I should have perished, if I had not gone through with it; or, more freely—I should have died, if I had not killed him. How this device came to be carved beneath a cardinal's cap on a walking stick at the Mains, is beyond my comprehension. The matron also exhibited here two portraits on glass, once the ornaments of some window—one, that of a burly looking personage in a broad brimmed hat, and said to have been a Hesketh. On one corner of the pane of glass, were two figures of the date 16 . ., the rest was broken off. The other portrait was a knight in full armour.

I was next ushered into the back offices. The butler's pantry was still stored with old black bottles, having W. & M. and 1630 upon them. There also were ranged singular shaped brazen hot water jugs, with cane on the handles to protect from heat, a rope legged oval oak table, and a narrow settle with holes inserted in its seat for the purpose of draining cleansed bottles. On the armoire stood lamps, wooden and brass candlesticks, that might have been brought from Pompeii, unique glasses, china cups and bowls, &c., &c., and other utensils too various to enumerate: the very names of which I was ignorant of. Then there was the kitchen—with what rude, clumsy articles was it furnished—even the tongs and poker belonged not to this generation. I remarked the little bronze trones, the carved salt pix, the pith board for the amusement of the servants, the cat locker, the linen kist, the bread rack, the pewter frame, the wag byth' wo, or metal faced cadjum clock, with "Breckal de Holmes" fecit upon it, and a date proclaiming that it was more than two hundred years old. But the huge brick oven attracted my notice particularly. It was capacious enough to cook provisions for a regiment of soldiers. Once a year, however, the matron informed me, it was wont to be filled, when the mansion was occupied in the days of the Hesketh. On Christmas eve, after feeding all the cattle with a sheaf of corn, every man on the estate was, of yore, supplied

with materials for raised pies, to the size of which none were stinted, if he could squeeze it through the oven's mouth; and this "awmas" was for generations called a "Dilworth," from a traditionary greedy fellow having made one of such monstrous size, that he could not bake it.

I am happy in having been allowed this opportunity of describing this my visit to Main's Hall, when it stood intact in its pristine homeliness. I watched the last alterations with sorrow, thinking, "Shall not I do what I will with my own?" a very doubtful query. I hovered around, and one day meeting the architect, enquired of him, "Whether he had met with any thing worthy of notice?" "The walls," he replied, "are the walls of a castle; some of the interior ones being more than a yard in thickness—a useless expenditure of room."

"Ah!" said I, "when they were built, the protection of the subject lay not in the laws, but in strong walls."

"And in hiding places; for between two walls we disclosed a secret recess, most adroitly concealed. Moreover, on moving a creaky board beneath the old bedstead, we took out a plain silver cross, black with age; no doubt valuable, as having received the blessing of the pope, or having belonged to some persecuted priest. More than one piece of the cannon money of James has been collected from the rubbish."

The Hesketh lived in great retirement, some of them almost in monkish privacy; whilst others of them have enjoyed their property, like other country squires. Though rigid Romanists and stout Jacobins, they ever lived in terms of intimacy with their protestant neighbours. I have heard my late mother tell, how she being invited to Mains Hall, when a girl, admired a large doll, which a daughter of the family, who had taken the veil abroad, had habited like herself after her inauguration. This was the lady who, driven from France at the revolution, founded an asylum at Preston; but on peace with England being proclaimed, returned to the continent. The Hesketh appear to have been of a robust habit of body, like other natives of the Fylde; for their apothecary's bills, though curious morceaux, with their "gargarisms, implasts, volatile draughts, carminative stomackic decotions, &c.," are of rare occurrence, which may partly be ascribed to the ladies and gentlemen not lolling in close stuffed carriages, in preference to taking their airings on the pillion, or on horseback. Indeed,

deed, carriages were unknown in the Fylde; so their saddler's account for 1715, has no reference to any trappings, save horse gear, thus:—

Stuffing a pad saddle.....	00	00	04
Chambering your horse saddle.....	00	00	02
A pair of bridle bits.....	00	00	06
A dubel garth	00	01	01
A new saddle.....	00	16	00
A pillion cloth	00	05	00

I might have mentioned some singular items in the bills of a sick young cadet of the family, whilst seeking at Rome the pope's blessing; but I will finish my paper with the letter of a haberdasher in London, to the ladies of Mains Hall, in 1730. I copy it from the original one before me:—

Sor,

I had the favor of yours and on the twelv instant sent your box with every thing you reet for, which I hop your lady will like. as to ye mode of ye ladys wer ther stays, very low before, ther gowns meets before at botms, upon the brest open about three fingers, ther stays very short and wid and ther hoops very larg at the top and very high behind. I have sent Miss (her) mob as ye ladys now wers them in full dress. As to ther rideng habets ye were no tgorkes but butens and buten hools, both to ther rideng gowns and gakets. I hop your lady will like ye coler of her grogrem. It is a coler that houds ye best of thos colers. I beg my hombel respects to her. I purpos seen Lanchershire ye ferst weke in Agst &c &c This is all from, sor, your most humbel servant to command.

ffleetwood Butler.

July 16, 1730.

To William Hesketh Esq at Mans neare Poulten Lanc.

Note.—Since the visit described in the paper, certain alterations have been made on the exterior, by the present occupant. The illustration, from a drawing made in August, 1853, exhibits the more modern front.

II.—Notice of the Baptismal Marriage and Burial Registers respecting Mr. Roscoe.

By James Boardman, Esq.

I.—BIRTH

Mr. Roscoe was born at the *Old* Bowling Green House, situate near the junction of Hope Street and Mount Pleasant. Neither this nor the New Bowling Green House, situate lower down the hill, nearly opposite Roscoe Street, was considered as being in Liverpool at the time of the publication of the first Directory, in 1766, which accounts for the omission of the name of Mr. Roscoe's father as a householder. The place of Mr. Roscoe's birth is not mentioned in the entry. The Registration Act, which came into operation in 1837, under which the writer received the appointment of Superintendent Registrar of Liverpool, requires entries of the hour and place of birth, which may often be of great importance, to be known.

II.—BAPTISM.

Benn's Garden Chapel,* which was erected by the English Presbyterians about the year 1728, was the place of worship which Mr. Roscoe's father attended. Ardent as the members of this sect were in their demands for civil and religious liberty, it is to be feared that they wished the extension of the blessing to be limited to those within the pale of their own church; certainly no Papist or Jew need have asked for equal rights. Their tenets were either Trinitarian or Arian; and although no doubt there were some who went a step or two nearer to the opinions of their descendants, the Unitarians of the present day, penal laws sealed their lips. All abhorred the organ and the surplice; and indeed the latter vestment seemed to have had an effect upon their nervous system similar to that upon the bull before the red flag of the Chulillos.

This entry of the birth and baptism of Mr. Roscoe, together with all the entries in the Register Books of Catholics and Nonconformists in England and Wales made prior to July 1, 1837, and deposited in the Non-Parochial Register Office, London, are now legalized by act of parliament, and are admissible as evidence in courts of law. Although the signature of the minister who performed the rite of baptism on the infant Roscoe does not

* "*Benn's Garden Chapel, Liverpool,* William, son of William Roscoe, innkeeper, born March 8, 1753, baptized March 28."

(Copy) James Boardman, 1834.

appear in the record, it was most probably Dr. Henderson, the ministe of the chapel, and afterwards on his conformity minister of St. Paul's Church. *Vide* the Rev. Dr. Thom's records.

III.—MARRIAGE.

Claudius Crigan,* afterwards Bishop of Sodor and Man, to which See he was presented by the Duke of Athol, who was at that time in a delicate state of health, and was said to have been selected as a 'locum tenens' for one of the Athol family not then ready to assume the charge. But the invigorating air of the Isle of Man, together with a mind at ease in pecuniary matters, had such an effect upon the valetudinarian that he rapidly recovered, and lived to enjoy the episcopate twenty-five years.

The Bishop was a man of agreeable manners and lively conversation. His church in Liverpool was the favourite temple of Hymen. My father, who visited the Isle of Man for forty-five consecutive years, regularly dined with his Lordship at Bishop's Court on his annual trip; and on the two last of these visits I had the pleasure to accompany him. Well I remember the awe with which I approached his Lordship on the first, on my leaving school; attired as he was in a full suit of black velvet and powdered wig. I find the following entry on the subject in my boyish journal. "After dinner walked in the garden with the Lord Bishop, who behaved in the most friendly and affectionate manner, questioning me in my reading and studies, instructing and advising me on various topics. On taking leave, he invited me to Bishop's Court, and placing his hands on my head in the most pathetic manner gave me his blessing and best wishes for my prosperity in life, in such words as I shall never forget." My second visit was soon after the glorious triumph of philanthropy, in which Mr. Roscoe had taken so important a part, the abolition of the African slave trade by England.

The Bishop had served as a chaplain to the forces in the West India colonies, and had there married a lady interested in slave property, his

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* "*Chapel of St. Anne, Liverpool.* William Roscoe, of the parish of Liverpool, gentleman, and Jane Griffies, of the same place, spinster, were married in this chapel, by licence, this twenty-second day of February, in the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one, by me, C. CRIGAN, Minister."

This marriage was solemnized between us William Roscoe, Jane Griffies, in the presence of Samuel Aspinwall, Betty Griffies. No. 681.

(Copy) WM. WHEELER, Incumbent, March 16th, 1853.

N.B.—Mr. Aspinwall or Aspinall was the partner of Mr. Roscoe.

views on the subject were consequently biassed, and to my great surprise as well as sorrow, for young as I was I had imbibed Mr. Roscoe's principles, his Lordship defended the system of negro slavery as warmly as any Liverpool trader. And to illustrate the happy state of negro life, he sung a stave or two of a nigger song, accompanied by all the ludicrous gesticulations which we have witnessed in our visit to the Ethiopian serenaders.

On Dr. Crigan's appointment to the bishopric, Mr. Thomas Chubbard, a very talented Liverpool artist, at the Bishop's desire painted his portrait episcopally attired, but his Lordship refused to take it, although an admirable likeness, at the same time telling Mr C. that he might have it engraved for sale. Mr. C. however would not make the speculation, and in his atelior it continued to hang when I received my drawing lessons. After the Bishop's death it was purchased by the family. This portrait was an object of attraction in the first exhibition in Liverpool, held in the autumn of the year 1783, the catalogue of which Mr. Mayer has done a service to the friends of the fine arts in Liverpool by republishing.

IV.—BURIAL.

Mr. Roscoe having died previously to the Act for the Registration of Deaths coming into operation, there is no legal record of the time and place of his death, but merely of his burial.* I merely mention the fact to show how defective the law was prior to the passing of the Act of William IV., for the registration of births, deaths, and marriages in England, and what a valuable measure it is, although like most reforms it was assailed on its introduction.

The funeral of Mr. Roscoe was conducted agreeably to his wishes in an unostentatious manner. The mortal remains of this great man were met on the way, from his last residence in Lodge Lane, by the Members of the Literary and Philosophical Society, the Committee of the Royal Institution, and a numerous body of his friends and admirers, who preceded them into the chapel, where the funeral service was performed by his much loved and valued friend, the late Rev. William Shepherd, LL.D.

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* "*Renshaw Street Chapel, Liverpool,* [Burial] July 5th, 1831. William Roscoe, gentleman, Lodge Lane, aged 78, Grave No. 1, WM. SHEPHERD."

(Copy) SAML. THORNELY, March 16th, 1853.

SEVENTH MEETING.

Royal Institution, 5th May, 1853.

DAVID THOM, D.D., Vice-President, in the Chair.

PROCEEDINGS.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Certificates of two Candidates for Membership were read for the first time.

The following gentlemen were duly elected:—

John Lawler Bagot, Great Orford Street, Liverpool.
Benjamin Witham Booth, Swinton, Manchester.
William Harrison, Ballachrink, St. John's, Isle of Man.
John Wrigley MacRae, Edge Lane, Liverpool.
Alexander Henry Wylie, 6, Catherine Street, Liverpool.

The following DONATIONS were laid upon the table:—

1. From the *Authors*.

From M. de Perthes Abbeville, France, Hon. Mem.	Nineteen vols. of his own works, viz.—	
	De la Creation, Essai sur l'origine et la progression des Etres	5 vols.
	Hommes et Choses	4 „
	Petit Glossaire	2 „
	Sujets Dramatiques	2 „
	Emma ou Quelques Lettres de Femme...	1 „
	Satires Contes et Chansonettes ...	1 „
	Opinions de M. Christophe	1 „
	Chants Armoricains	1 „
	Nouvelles	1 „
	Romances, Ballades, et Legendes ..	1 „
From Dawson Turner, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., &c., Hon. Mem.	Descriptive Index of the contents of MS. vols., illustrative of the History of Great Britain, 8vo., 1851.	

Kirkpatrick's History of the Religious Orders in Norwich, 8vo., 1845.

Lichenographia Britannica (privately printed), 8vo., 1839.

Muscologiae Hibernicae Spicilegium, 12mo., 1804.

From Charles Roach Smith, Esq., F.S.A. — Collectanea Antiqua, vol. iii, part 1.

The following articles were EXHIBITED:—

By William Nisbet, Esq., Egremont.	A selection from the collection of the late Thomas Binns, Esq., consisting of (1) a catalogue of 30 vols. of prints and drawings, illustrative of the History and Topography of Lancashire; (2) the ninth vol. of the collection, consisting chiefly of charts and views of Liverpool and the Mersey.
	Part I of Roscoe's work on Monandrian Plants.
	Fifteen published portraits of Roscoe, inlaid with other portraits of local interest, all previous to 1830.
By J. Stonehouse, Esq.	A play bill, and three concert bills, referring to Liverpool about 1767, and 1768.
By Rev. Thomas Moore, M.A.	A descriptive catalogue of 107 diamonds in the cabinet of the late Sir Abraham Hume, Bart., M.P., written in French by Count Bournon, with plates; shewing the various modes of crystallization, 4to., 1815.
By John Orr.	The Historie of the Life and Death of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland, 16mo., London, 1686.
By Dr. Hume.	Various Brass Rubbings from Sefton, &c.
By John Ireland Blackburne, Esq, Hale.	A collection of letters and papers relating to the Liverpool Election of 1670, including one from the Duke of Monmouth.
By Dr. Kendrick, from the Rev. P.A. Hampson.	A printed sermon by Martin Luther. There were several MS. corrections of the text, and on a blank page at the end, was written "Martin Luther, Wirtemberg."

Attention was drawn to the first two numbers of a 12mo periodical published at Manchester, edited by T. Worthington Barlow, Esq., F.L.S., styled "The Cheshire and Lancashire Historical Collector."

PAPERS.

I.—On the History of Naval Terms.

By the Rev. J. S. Howson, M.A., Principal of the Collegiate Institution.

I need not begin this paper by an argument in praise of the study of words. That words, considered merely as words, are full of instructive phenomena; that language contains in its very texture a manifold record of the past; that endless stores of suggestive associations are laid up in our commonest phraseology,—all this is so readily recognised by all who have ever thought on the subject, that it would be a needless delay to attempt to prove it. This truth has been expressed in a manner so lively and so well adapted to our present topic, by a writer in an American periodical, that I will adopt the passage as my introduction to this paper.

"To the scholar, words seem instinct with meaning and life, even when they stand alone. Each one of them has, in the first place, a parentage from which it springs according to laws almost as settled as those of physical generation. They reflect, too, the image of their parent, and carry the marks of relationship upon their faces. Differ they may greatly in moral characteristics, in importance and frequency of use, from their venerated progenitors; but they can never escape from the resemblance in sound and sense which their birth has enstamped upon them Sometimes they are settlers on a foreign soil, and trace back to an ancestry in some older land, perhaps to an ancestry now dead, at least to a dead language. But the philologist comes, and by a few strokes of his pen clears up the family genealogy, shows, perhaps, when they changed their domicile, and how by degrees they acquired the rights of citizens. Sometimes a single straggler or two comes from the antipodes, led away from his fireside in the course of trade, as a solitary merchant will settle at some trading post among the Indians. Perhaps they find it necessary to suit foreign ears by a considerable alteration of external appearance, so that a relative at home would scarcely recognise them in their transformation. But the master of languages is a spy upon them, from whom they can seldom escape. Those few who are sons of nobody, and whose parentage cannot be traced, are more badly off than their brethren in this—that philologists, instead of letting them alone, torment them with a thousand exploring questions, offer impertinent conjectures as to who their fathers were, and often give them an unpleasant prominence by inventing for them a very improbable or absurd genealogy."

These are the remarks of a writer in the "New Englander." Now, looking at language from this point of view, we at once see the value of the study of provincialisms. Such local peculiarities of speech are not to be despised as mere vulgarisms; and a fondness for research of this kind is not to be laughed at as idle antiquarianism. The patois of a language is not always its deterioration: it is often "a prior state which circumstances have induced and enabled some favoured orders to desert;" it exhibits "not the scoria of the furnace, but some of the first, though perhaps grotesque shapes, of the fused ore."* Thus it will often be found to manifest old types and analogies which have disappeared in the more refined tongue of common life, and hence to aid us in our enquiries respecting the affinities of languages, besides illustrating the progress of manners and customs and the history of social life.

What is true of a provincialism, or the dialect of a district, is at least equally true of the dialect of a class. It is very curious to observe how a peculiar language is formed among any class of men who are separated from their fellows, and united among themselves by a peculiar interest or occupation. Hence the origin of *slang*, which it is perhaps difficult to define in any other way, and of *cant*, which may be briefly described as religious slang. But the point which it is of importance to us to notice on this occasion is, that these class peculiarities may contain materials drawn from very various and very ancient sources, and preserve them unaltered, when they have been elsewhere either lost or entirely transformed. I believe that the conversation of the London cabmen, or even the rude terminology of the navvies who made our railroads, may contain forms of pronunciation and expression of extreme interest to the philologist; just as I should expect remote provincialisms in Ireland or in America to contain illustrations which might be useful to the critical student of Chaucer or Shakspeare.

Of all classes, there is none whose language is so well worth considering in this point of view as that of our seafaring countrymen. In the first place it is a very ancient language. An English sailor's phraseology is not of yesterday; but it is connected with the greatest passages of our history from Raleigh to Nelson. In the course of its formation, also, it has drawn its

* See an Essay on the Yorkshire Dialect, in the Nugæ Literariæ of Rev. R. W. Hamilton, of Leeds.

materials from various parts of our coast, each characterised by its own local dialects and customs. But in appreciating the philological importance of our nautical phraseology, we must travel more remotely into antiquity, and far beyond our own coasts. How many of our technical seafaring terms came from the Mediterranean, and how many from the opening of the Baltic? How many have we in common with France, and how many with Holland? It is evident that we cannot reflect long on this subject without our thoughts being brought to the first Saxon invasions and to the Danish pirates, to Alfred and Canute and William the Conqueror, to the Crusades and the acquaintance thus effected between our own ancestors and the traders of Venice and Genoa, and to the time when our navigators in the Atlantic were brought into rivalry with those who sailed from the Spanish Peninsula. These topics, in their practical bearing on our general subject, may perhaps be alluded to in some future paper.

In further illustration of the interest and value of our nautical dialect I would mention its strongly marked and emphatic character. The language of the British tar, however he may have found it convenient to borrow from all nations of the world, is peculiarly his own; whatever it expresses, it expresses decidedly; its features are clear and positive, and can be easily examined and scrutinized. Another reason why it is worthy of our examination is that it is widely spread, and ever spreading more widely with every new effort of British enterprise; so that it is tending to become the universal language of the seas. And, lastly, this wide extension is attended with hardly any liability to change. With the exception of such slight alterations as may be expected to result from modifications in the practice of shipbuilding and navigation, so long as wind and water, timber and canvas, remain the same, the language of the English sailor will remain the same for centuries to come, in all the creeks of the Asiatic seas, and among all the islands of the Pacific.

Yet, with all these interests associating themselves with that seafaring life of which we are nationally proud, I cannot find that any one has subjected our maritime patois to a careful philological examination. No one, so far as I know, has made it the occasion of a separate work. Among our grammarians we have a full recognition of the importance of dialectical forms; we have books published on the dialects of nearly every county; but the dialect of the sea has escaped the attention which was due to it. In Mr. Halliwell's Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words, which brings

together scattered contributions from every district, I find nothing in the introduction except the following remark, which appears to be made in a MS. communication:—"The language of our seamen in general is well worth a close investigation, as it certainly contains not a few archaisms; but the subject requires time and patience, for in the mouths of those who call the Bellerophon and the Ville de Milan the *Billy Ruffian* and *Wheel-em-along* there is nothing

> "But doth suffer a sea-change
> Into something new and strange."

To which Mr. Halliwell replies with justice, that the remark "must be received with some limitation, and perhaps applies almost entirely to difficult modern terms not easily intelligible to the uneducated. Many of the principal English nautical terms have remained unchanged for centuries."* Yet, in the body of the dictionary, very little light is thrown upon our subject; the number of nautical terms quoted is small, and there is no attempt to elucidate them on any general principles. We cannot expect to find philological inquiries in any of the dictionaries which are intended to explain the usage of nautical terms; though in Falconer's well-known work † many judicious remarks in this direction are made incidentally. As regards the general dictionaries of the English language, we are equally at fault; nor can we be surprised. We know that Johnson was weak in etymology; and we should hardly expect that the hero of St. John's-gate and the Mitre Tavern, who is said to have studied not the *genus* homo, but the *species* Londoner, would have extended any peculiar sympathy to the *species* sailor. As regards Richardson's dictionary, which is of the highest etymological merit, it will be generally allowed to be very defective in what relates to technical terms of all kinds. And similar remarks might be extended, I believe, to all our published vocabularies.

We seem, then, to be treading on new and unbroken ground when we proceed to inquire into the history of nautical terms. To do this at all thoroughly would require a remarkable union of great qualifications. It would demand, in the first place, a thorough knowledge of the terms themselves, and the mode of using them, which cannot possibly be obtained except in the experience of a seafaring life. With this ought to be united a full acquaintance with the dialectic peculiarities on the different parts of

* Halliwell, pp. xv, xvi.

† Universal Dictionary of the Marine, to which is added, a Translation of the French Sea-terms, &c., 1766.

our coasts. But far more than this would be required. The subject could not be thoroughly mastered by any one without an adequate knowledge of various European languages, both in their earlier and later forms, and especially with Anglo-Saxon, whence the parentage of many naval expressions must be sought. Nor, lastly, could he proceed with safe steps in his inquiry, unless he were well trained in the linguistic principles which have been established by the great philological writers of Germany and other countries.

Now, I am very conscious that I possess not merely not all these qualifications, but not even one of them. Though I have been much on the water, I am always too sea-sick to hold a tiller or handle a rope; and though I am fond of the study of language, I have been almost forced to be content with looking on the outside of the great works of Grimm and Bopp. Yet it may be possible to indicate a line of inquiry which is interesting, or at least, amusing, and which may be afterwards followed up more systematically by others. In a town like this it may be expected that some may take more than usual interest in the subject, and may perceive some prospect of connecting useful results with the study of this branch of nautical antiquities. Burke observes, in his Essay on the Sublime and Beautiful, that "the English language is peculiarly framed for purposes of business." And if it is true, as the compiler of one of the comparative marine dictionaries which I have used says, in his preface—"that many an English ship is in the most imminent danger of being lost, from the commander or master not understanding the foreign pilot who is to conduct her into port; and that our navy officers and shipmasters are frequently at a loss to express their wants in foreign ports, and to examine accounts of repairs, &c., drawn up in foreign idioms; and that our merchants, shipowners, and underwriters are often necessitated, in regard to the true sense of the most important ship papers, implicitly to rely on the imperfect, unguided knowledge of translators;"* it seems by no means impossible that something useful might result from any study which induces us to place in juxtaposition, for the purpose of comparison, the naval terms of different countries.

Before proceeding to mark out the lines of division, by help of which I conceive the whole subject might most conveniently be examined, I will take

* H. Newman, Marine Pocket Dictionary of the Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and German Languages. London, 1800.

a single example to illustrate the nature of the inquiry, and to show how much historical and philological interest may be connected with a nautical term. When a subject is new, a single example often clears away more obscurity than could be dissipated by a long explanation.

I take the word *binnacle*—the common name of the box or covered place which contains the compass, within sight of the steersman, and which is carefully illuminated by night. I make no apology for defining what is known to almost every one; for, in an essay on technical terms, it is always better to assume that elementary explanations may be useful to some one present. There is no one who has gone on a dark night by steam-boat from Liverpool to Glasgow who is not familiar with the appearance of the *binnacle;* but few, perhaps, have ever thought of inquiring into the derivation of the word. From its form we might be disposed to guess, at first sight, that it is a true old-fashioned English word, or, at least, that it is of northern origin. This, however, is not the case. The corresponding terms in German are *Kompass-haus* or *Nacht-haus* (night-house), which explain themselves at once; and the latter of these terms is also the customary expression in Danish, Swedish, and Dutch. But if we look to the languages of southern Europe, we find at once the derivation of our English word. For its synonym in French is *habitacle*, in Spanish *bitacora*, in Portuguese *bitacola*, which are merely the two Peninsular varieties of the same word. The origin of the term is, in fact, the Latin *habitaculum*, and since the first syllable is already dropped in Spain and Portugal, I should imagine that it has come to us from thence rather than from France, where the word is used more nearly in its original form—an opinion which seems the more reasonable when we consider that the compass itself was unknown to our Anglo-Norman ancestors, but was familiarly known to those who patronised Columbus, and those who were the countrymen of Vasco de Gama. But again, this word invites us to a little further research: what was this Latin *habitaculum*, or "small house," which became the title of that enclosed box which protects the compass from storm and darkness? I cannot help conjecturing that it was, in its original sense and in heathen times, a small chapel, or shrine, in which an image of the ship's patron deity was placed; and that it received its new application when the compass was found more worthy to occupy the place of a dumb idol, which could rescue the mariner from no danger, and guide him in no difficulty; and I am confirmed in this conjecture by observing

that the modern Italian term for the binnacle is *chiesola*—"little church." But a difficulty might still be started in reference to our proposed derivation. It might be said that the change of *t* into *n* is an objection to the theory. No one, however, will feel any difficulty here who has ever closely watched the phenomena of a cold in the head—and here I may make the incidental remark, that in all such inquiries as that in which we are engaged, it is of the utmost importance that we should attend closely to the organs with which different consonants are pronounced, if we wish to be accurate in tracing their interchanges between one language and another. I make this remark in reference to the subject generally, for, as regards the word binnacle, we find it stated by Falconer that the old English mode of pronouncing it was *bittacle*, and so, indeed, it is spelt in Captain Marryat's novels.

This one word, then, is a very full illustration of the manifold associations, historical and philological, which may be grouped round a nautical term. It may also conveniently illustrate the method according to which I would propose to examine the subject generally. This method is, in fact, based on the comparison of our own nautical terms with those of other nations. I would take four northern languages, Dutch, German, Swedish, and Danish (or Norwegian), as means of tracing the Tuetonic or Scandinavian elements of our maritime phraseology;—and four of southern Europe, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and French, as representing the influence of the Romance languages,—and trace the synonyms of our various seafaring terms in all of them.

The whole subject might be conveniently thrown into two divisions, *philological* and *historical*. If we were prosecuting a comprehensive and minute inquiry, some further subdivisions would be necessary, in order to avoid confusion; but at present I can only describe the general features of the subject: and in the rest of this paper, which at best is only introductory and suggestive, I will limit myself to a few philological illustrations, reserving what is properly historical for another occasion.

Under the head of what is merely *philological*, I consider nautical terms simply as words—as components of language; and the questions before us relate to the passing of words from one language to another, and the modifications, as to consonants and vowels, which they undergo in the process. We are brought here among considerations of the highest interest. Our inquiries are within the domain of "Grimm's Law," and the whole field of

comparative etymology is opened before us. But, happily, no ambitious attempt can be made in a paper like this. In what remains, I can do little more than suggest such questions as these:—by what links our nautical vocabulary is connected with those of other nations,—and how far it contains archaic forms which elsewhere are almost obliterated—how far we can distil from this salt water any pure drops of Saxon undefiled.

We should expect, in the first place, to find in the English sailor's language that facility of adaptation, combined with sturdy independence, which is characteristic of the English language generally. The Englishman borrows from every side, and yet he always remains an Englishman. So with his language; and so, not less, with his nautical dialect.

The very first word that crosses the mind supplies us with an illustration. The word "*ship*" is Teutonic. We use it in common with all the four northern languages which I have selected for comparison (*schip*, D.; *schiff*, G.; *skift*, D.; *skepp*, S.), and yet our adjectives are "*naval*" and "*nautical*," words derived from the Greek and Latin, and exhibiting our relation to the other four languages which represent the south (*navire*, F.; *nave*, I.; *navio*, S.; *nao*, P.) How completely are we seen, even at this stage of the inquiry, to stand at the meeting point of north and south, where we can appropriate what we like and yet retain our independence.

As a further illustration of this position, let us select a few parts of the gear of a ship, and examine the words by which we call them. The symmetry of a ship's arrangements may enable us to do this without confusion. Let us take three ropes which belong to the yard of a sail—*braces*, *lifts*, and *halyards*. The first word denotes the rope by which the yard is turned in a direction parallel to the horizon; the second the rope which supports the yard, and causes it to hang in proper equilibrium; the third the rope by which the yard is hoisted or lowered vertically on the mast. Now, if we compare our vocabulary with that of other nations, we find the first of these terms appearing in every one of them. It is, in fact, the Latin word *brachium*, "an arm," and no term could be more appropriate. In the case of the other two terms, the English sailor has disdained to use a word common to any other language, though for *halyards* all the four northern languages agree in using one common word, and the four southern languages agree in using another; and the same remark may be extended, with a slight modification, to the third word, *lifts*.

I had collected many examples of this kind, for the purpose of showing the curiously wilful way in which our marine vocabulary sometimes harmonises with the north, sometimes with the south, and sometimes with neither; and also for the purpose of showing how this dialect often contains links of connection with other countries which are lost in our general language. But I must hasten to show, by a few illustrations, how it contains relics of our own older tongue, which are otherwise extinct, or at least very partially retained. We ought here properly to make a division between archaic forms and archaic significations; but I am content to give my examples without any precise attention to order.

Swab, the mop made of old rope, with which decks are cleaned, is an old form of *sweep*. *Swain*, which we seldom use now, except in pastoral poetry, appears in its old meaning of a servant, in *boatswain* and *coxswain*. *Tide* is the Anglo-Saxon for *time* (German, *Zeit*), and explains its own derivation from the periodicity of the daily phenomena on our coasts. The proverb, "time and tide wait for no man," must be comparatively modern in its present form, and is a curious exemplification of the composite nature of the English language, *time* and *tide* being really the Latin and Teutonic words for the same thing, coming respectively through the Anglo-Norman and the Anglo-Saxon. *Taut* is only an older form of *tight*, and I cannot but regret that one naval writer whom I have consulted (Lieutenant Fordyce) spells it *tort*, thus entirely concealing its etymology. The *hull* is the part of the ship which is covered with the waves, unless, indeed, it is more properly synonymous with *hold*, the planking which covers and conceals the cargo. At all events, it is derived from a well-known Anglo-Saxon verb which means "to cover," and it is still in familiar use in our northern provincial dialects, in the sense of "a covering;" pea-pods, nut-shells, and potato-skins are all called "*hulls*" in Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Westmorland. *Tow* and *tug* (more properly pronounced *toog*, as we do pronounce it in the north) are the same word, and I find another form of it in my native dialect of Craven, where the exertion of any laborious and fatiguing effort is expressed by the word *tew*. This dropping of the *g* is quite according to rule. Thus the *bow* of a ship appears as *boeg* in Dutch; and the pronunciation of some of our northern sailors, who speak of the *boos* of their vessel, preserves the link of connexion. *Adrift* is an old adverb, of which we have but few examples, connected with *drive*. The word *bitts*, denoting the perpendicular pieces of timber on deck, to which

the cables are fastened, is connected with *bite* (A.-S. *bitan*), and may be compared with the *bit* we place in a horse's mouth, and with the *bait* upon a fish-hook. *Roadstead*, a place of anchorage, is instanced by Horne Tooke, in the "Diversions of Purley," as one of the few instances where the old word *stead*, "a place," is retained in the language. *Tiller*, the handle by which the rudder is moved, denotes, in some of the southern dialects, the stalk of a cross-bow; and in Suffolk it is used for the handle of any instrument.

Instances of this kind might be multiplied to a very great extent; but I will limit myself to three others, which seem to deserve a more special notice.

The word *luff*, which often puzzles those who have never been at sea, and which denotes the bringing of the vessel's head towards the quarter from which the wind comes, is, in fact, the same old word as the German *Luft*, "the air." It appears copiously in the naval vocabulary of other nations; thus, the French *louvoyer* means "to beat up against the wind," and the Dutch *loeven* means "to go to the weather side." We retain the word in the term *loft*, which we apply to an upper room. The sailors' word *aloft* is familiar to us all; and I think the same root is to be traced in another expression used at sea, namely, when a ship is sailing near the wind and a fluttering motion is caused by the air in the edge or leech of the sail, which is then said to *lift*.

The next word is *shrouds*, by which is meant the aggregate of ropes which come down from the mast-head to the ship's side. We have serious and solemn associations with another use of the word *shroud;* but at first sight there appears no connection between the two. There is, however, real connection. *Scrudan*, in Anglo-Saxon means "to clothe;" and *shroud (scrud)* is the dress of the ship. In "Guy of Warwick" we find the following line :—

"In a kirtle of silk he 'gan him schrede."

In the case before us the difference is, that the kirtle is of hemp and not of silk.

The last word is *frap*—a term not in very common use, but not without considerable interest; for it denotes that operation of undergirding a ship which is mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, xxvii, 17. In the other Euro-

pean languages the synonymous term is expressive of the operation; * and we might well be perplexed to explain the origin of the English phrase. We find, however, good reason to believe that it is an old Saxon word, when we discover that in the Devonshire dialect *fraped* means "drawn or fixed tight." Thus it would seem that the Torquay fishermen have preserved to us this curious relic of the language of the West Saxons.

I am compelled to conclude this paper abruptly, without entering on the *historical* branch of the enquiry. But the Society will probably allow me to resume the subject, and perhaps it will be prosecuted by others.

II.—Lancashire and Cheshire Men in the Sixteenth Century.

By the Rev. A. Hume, D.C.L., LL.D., F.S.A.

[The meeting at which these papers were read was held during the day, for the convenience of country members. The members of the Literary and Philosophical Society were invited to attend; together with those of the Polytechnic Society, the Architectural and Archæological Society, and the Chemists' Association. The visitors in attendance also included ladies. The Paper of which the following is an abstract, was a popular account of the subject, written specially for a meeting of that kind.—Ed.]

The ancient and beautiful church of Sefton, in this neighbourhood, contains several monumental brasses, and among them those of Sir William Molyneux and his two wives. He was an ancestor of the present Earl of Sefton, and died in 1548, or in the beginning of the reign of Edward VI. When the brasses were in a perfect state, the arms of the knight were above his head, and those of each wife over hers; while an elaborate achievement, containing twelve quarterings, shewed as many families of distinction whose blood and representation he had inherited.

At the bottom is an inscription, from which we learn that William Molineux, soldier *(miles* not *eques)*, Lord of Sefton, was three times engaged in battle during the reign of Henry VIII.; on each occasion he bore himself bravely, but especially at Flodden, where, with his own hand, he captured and bore away two standards from the Scots, though he was valiantly opposed.

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* See these synonyms in "The Life and Epistles of St. Paul," by the Rev. W. J. Conybeare, M.A., and the Rev. J. S. Howson, M.A., vol. ii, p. 311, n. 5.

There is nothing particular in the arrangement of the dress of the ladies, but there is something deserving of marked attention in the appearance of the knight. Instead of being represented in the costume of his own time, which was the plan usually followed, he is in that of an age from two to three centuries older. On the breast is borne the *cross-moline*, the "canting coat," with which the name of "Molineux" is connected; a circumstance of itself very unusual. The head is covered with a coif of ringed mail of the time of Henry III. or Edward I.; and, apparently, the same article shews itself underneath the breastplate,—reaching to his knees.*

The question naturally occurs, how is it that he was so equipped, for there is reason to believe that the figure represents the actual armour which he wore? It is thought that this was his armour on the most eventful day of his life, the day of the battle of Flodden Field, in September, 1513. This view is corroborated by the fact that the monumental brass originally contained the representation of the two pennons which he bore away, and which are mentioned in the inscription. It is supposed, therefore, that he was hastily summoned to the mustering by Sir Edward Stanley; and that, coming from the banquet or the hunting field, he rushed to horse in the armour that came most readily to hand. There would be various suits of various periods; for it is recorded of the old courtier of the time of Queen Elizabeth, now represented by "The Fine Old English Gentleman," that

> "His old hall was hung about with pikes, guns, and bows,
> With old swords, and bucklers, that had borne many shrewde blows." †

Probably this very suit had seen good service, while protecting the person of some of his distinguished ancestors.

The victory of Flodden was so important, and is so intimately connected with many families in this part of the country, that it may be well to say a few words respecting it, in connexion with this subject.

King Henry VIII., who ascended the throne in 1509, was in 1513 at Tournay, in France, when his brother-in-law, King James IV. of Scotland, entered England. The Earl of Surrey, afterwards Duke of Norfolk, was entrusted by the king with the command of the army against the Scots;

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* An interesting account of this brass is given by J. A. Waller, Esq., in the *Journal of the Archæological Association* for 1849, p. 262. See also, *Proceedings and Papers of the Historic Society*, vol. ii., p. 248.

† Percy's Reliques of Ancient English Poetry, vol. ii., p. 352.

but it was very unequal in numbers, and raised almost exclusively from the northern counties. The English minstrel says that the Scotch army was 100,000 strong, and that the English amounted to 23,000; but there is no probability that there was such a great disparity in numbers. Lindsay of Pitscottie says there were 50,000 on the English side, and only 20,000 on that of the Scottish King, the rest having returned home. One account states that Lancashire contributed 1,000, and another says that the two shires on the banks of the Mersey sent 10,000. The former is probably the true account. These were led on by Sir Edward Stanley, a younger son of the first Earl of Derby, the Earl himself being with the King in France. It is generally admitted that the Cheshire men were practically beaten in the fight, but that their companions assisted them; Sir Walter Scott, in his death-scene of Marmion, giving a fair view of the occurrences. But, at a subsequent and critical moment, the archers of Lancashire and Cheshire turned the tide of the battle, and thus secured the liberties of England, while they influenced in a most important manner the destinies of Scotland. The story has been told in numerous ballads and poems, the principal of which have been collected by Weber* and other editors. In modern times, Sir Walter Scott has associated the facts of the battle with the fortunes of an individual, and ordinary readers are familiar with the poem of Marmion.† But comparatively few are acquainted with the older poems, though they contain numerous passages of extreme interest.

The arming for the fight is characteristic of the times. Some made mallets of lead and bound them round with iron; some made helmets, or ground the points of their halberts; others polished their battle-axes or bills, or formed rude lances and sharpened "pike-forks." The task of turning the sword into a ploughshare was inverted, and men made head-pieces out of the irons of their ploughs.

The enumeration of Stanley's men is so interesting, locally, that it deserves to be quoted entire. The reader will observe the alliteration in each of the verses:—

Most liver lads in Lonsdale bred,
With weapons of unwieldy weight;

* "The Battle of Flodden Field; a Poem of the Sixteenth Century, with the various readings of the different copies, historical notes, a glossary, and an appendix containing ancient poems and historical matter relating to the same event. By Henry Weber, Edinburgh, 1808."

† See also notices of other accounts in "The Stanley Papers, Part I.," by Thomas Heywood, Esq., F.S.A., printed for the Chetham Society, 1853.

All such as Tatham-Fells had fed
Went under Stanley's streamer bright.

From Bolland bill-men bold were boun,
With such as Botton-Banks did hide;
From Wharemore up to Whittington,
And all to Wenning water side.

From Silverdale to Kent-Sandside,
Whose soil is sown with cockle shells;
From Cartmel eke and Conny side,
With fellows fierce from Furney's fells.

All Lancashire, for the most part,
The lusty Stanley stout did lead—
A stock of striplings, strong of heart,
Brought up from babes with beef and bread.

From Warton unto Warrington,
From Wigan unto Wiresdale,
From Wedicar to Waddington,
From old Ribchester to Ratchdale,

From Poulton and Preston with pikes
They with the Stanley forth stout went;
From Pemberton and Pilling Dikes,
For battle bill-men bold were bent.

With fellows fresh and fierce in fight,
Which Horton fields turned out in scores;
With lusty lads, liver and light,
From Blackburn and Bolton-i'-the-Moors.

With children chosen from Cheshire,
In armour bold for battle drest;
And many a gentleman and 'squire
Were under Stanley's streamers prest. *

It appears, from an allusion, that the slogan or battle-cry of Stanley was "Stanley Stout;" every principal clan or family having such a slogan † at the period. The movement of Stanley's men consisted in their climbing up the steep side of a hill, so that they could throw themselves with great physical force, and with a tremendous discharge of arrows, upon their antagonists. In ascending the hill they were forced to creep on all fours; some leaving their boots at the bottom, and others throwing the shoes from their feet, "that toes might take the better hold."

The result of the battle is well known. The Scotch king was killed, and his subjects tried to fix blame upon some of his nobles, instead of upon their headstrong master himself. It was even said that he had escaped, and some believed for years that he did not fall in the fight; but in the "Letters Illustrative of English History," published by Sir Henry Ellis,

* Lines, 1337—1368.

† Some curious details are given in the "Slogans of the North of England," by Michael Hislabie Denham, Esq.; and respecting those on the other side of the Border in Mr. Robert Chambers' "Popular Rhymes of Scotland."

there is one from Queen Catherine to Henry VIII., mentioning that the coat, as well as the sword and dagger of James, had been brought to London. The desolation of certain parts of Scotland by this disastrous battle is also well known; the young men of Ettrick Forest, for example, were nearly all cut off. The beautiful ballad, entitled "The Flowers of the Forest," published in Sir Walter Scott's "Minstrelsy of the Border,"* alludes to this fact, each stanza concluding with the pathetic burden—

"The flowers of the forest are a' wede awae" (weeded out.)

False intelligence was, in the first instance, sent to the king in France, alleging that Lancashire and Cheshire had behaved badly, and that Stanley, their leader, had disgraced himself. Sir Ralph Egerton, and others, defended them; but the grief of the "King of Man" was excessive. Next day, however, a true message arrived from the queen, which set aside that caused by the Earl of Surrey's jealousy. In Lord Derby's distress, he bids adieu to the persons and places most dear to him, some of which are interesting. "Lancaster, that lytill towne;" "Latham, that bright bower, which nine towers beareth on high;" "Knoweslay, that lytill tower;" "Tokestaffe, that trustie park, and the fair river that renneth there beside;" and "bolde Byrkenhead, where he was borne," to which he gave the "tythe of Beeston trulye." He also takes leave of Westchester (Chester), and the Watergate, West Harden, Hope and Hope's Dale, and Mouldes Dale. While in this mood, a young man, called James Garsye, yeoman of the guard, ran to him for protection. At the hour of supper the soldiers had taunted him with the supposed cowardice of Lancashire and Cheshire, and he "sticked two and wounded three." He was tried by the king on the spot, and pardoned; but a proclamation was made at the same time, that whoever rebuked Lancashire or Cheshire should have his judgment on the next tree. The minstrel, who probably wrote in the reign of Mary or Elizabeth, concludes thus:—

"Nowe, God, that was in Beathleam born,
And for vs dyed vpon a tree,
Save our nowble prynces that weareth the crowne,
And have mercy on the Earle's sowle of Derby. †

A few words in conclusion. Three centuries and a half have passed, and a monarch, who unites the blood both of the Scottish and English royal lines, rules on both sides of the Border. The sword has become a plough-

* Vol. iii., p. 129. † Printed by Weber from the Harl. MSS., 293 and 367.

share; and the descendants of Scottish knights, who found a grave with their people at Flodden, are proud and happy to sympathise with the men of the palatine counties, and are as jealous for the honour of the district as the children of the soil. But though the people of our own island are one in heart and interest at present; it is well to revert to the troublous times of the past. Whatever we may say of the aggressors, let us honour the memory of the stout-hearted patriots; and while we record their gallant deeds, let us learn to imitate them in similar circumstances. There was lately a little cloud like a man's hand, rising in the south beyond the channel, which may even yet be the forerunner of a storm; but if so, and if the battle of Hastings must be fought again, the story of it shall be told like that of Flodden or of Bannockburn.

In the centuries that have passed, our island empire has been consolidated at home and extended abroad, yet the two counties of Lancashire and Cheshire have increased instead of diminished in relative importance. Lancashire alone outnumbers Middlesex in population; and the two together, will probably in after years, equal the whole of Scotland. Nor is their importance limited to mere numbers; that is one of the smallest elements in the calculation. Two prominent parties in the State are both identified with this one shire; and, to use the language of the law, the cross case recently tried before the Supreme Court was, Manchester *versus* Knowsley, Knowsley *versus* Manchester.

Our own neighbourhood, too, modern as it is, has links of interest that connect us with the past; for the Hall of Speke contains the trophy of Norres, and the Church at Sefton proclaims the prowess of Molyneux. It is interesting, too, to trace a stream of noble blood, pure and distinct, amid centuries of change;—to follow it like a thread of gold or silver, amid the complicated tissue of a more homely fabric. Thus, the representative of Molyneux is at this hour the military head, the Lord Lieutenant of this great county; while the representative of Stanley, still keeping his position in the race of honourable ambition, has stood foremost in the councils of his Sovereign.

Nor is the soil of the district exhausted yet. It produces fruits which are rare and valuable in themselves, and still more rare in their combination; commerce and manufacture, agriculture and mining. And, though last not least, it possesses another union of rare and valuable qualities; for while history has been delighted to honour the valour of its sons, tradition

and poetry have been at least equally zealous in proclaiming the witchery of its daughters. But in whatever degree persons of different parties, tastes, or habits, may differ respecting the importance of these, on one subject we will be agreed,—that the unknown minstrels who have handed down to us such a glowing and minute account of these events, deserved a much more enduring record than either history or tradition has preserved with the public in general.

III.—Dramatic Places of Amusement in Liverpool a Century ago.

By James Stonehouse.

The earliest notice we have of public amusements in Liverpool in the shape of the drama, we find occurring about the year 1571, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, when Shakspere, Ben Jonson, and other great dramatists produced their time-enduring works; but, whether any of their plays were represented in so remote a place as Liverpool, and at that period so insignificant a town, we have no accurate data to refer to, by which we can arrive at a satisfactory conclusion.

That dramatic representations, as well as performances in the shape of mysteries, were common long before this period, there is, of course, no doubt; that they were brought forward occasionally in the town is clear by the manifesto issued by the authorities at this date (1571):—"That no jugglers, strollers, visions voyde and vayne, shall exhibit without an order or permission from the maior." This order shows that the graceless varlets whom the Roman poet calls "The tribe of minstrels, strollers, quacks, and mummers" had been in the habit of frequenting the town, and perhaps not conducting themselves in so seemly and becoming a way as they ought to have done.

Doubtless the great families of Molineux and Stanley, at their houses, the Tower in Water Street, and the Castle, gave occasionally those pageants, in which the people of the time so much delighted, not only from the pleasure they produced of themselves, but because they could be enjoyed at the expense of other persons.

In an old chronicle there is some allusion made to the Stanleys having players at the Castle, on which occasion the principal gentry of the town were invited to witness the performances.

The first theatre, however, or building devoted exclusively to dramatic performances, of which there is any positive mention made, was erected about 1641 (*temp.* Charles I), on the ground now occupied by a portion of the Coalbrookdale Company's premises, at the back. It stood, therefore, between the present James Street and Redcross Street, or Tarleton's New Street, as it was formerly called. This building, of which, however, we have but very imperfect notice, was constructed of frail materials, and was only used occasionally by strolling companies, who came to Liverpool from the north in their route to Chester and other places. The interior of this theatre would present to view the same aspect as do the old prints of the Globe at Bankside, where we find the most distinguished of the audience seated in a sort of boxes at the sides, or on chairs on the stage, while the pit is unboarded, and the audience there, are standing on the bare ground. Shakspere alludes to the people in the pit in his advice to the players in *Hamlet*, where he speaks of a roaring actor "splitting the very ears of the groundlings," that is, the people standing on the ground or unboarded floor of the theatre. When this theatre was taken down, a company of strolling players opened a barn in Moor Street for dramatic representations. This barn adjoined a place used as a cockpit, a favourite place of resort at that time as well as in later days. After being here some time they removed to a house in the Old Ropery.* Here the drama was represented until a regular theatre was built and opened in 1759, in Drury Lane, a street which then ran into the Old Ropery. Drury Lane was called, previous to the erection of the theatre, Entwistle Street, being named after an old and highly respectable as well as influential family of Liverpool, of which two members held the high office of recorder for many years. Mr. J. Entwistle was appointed recorder in 1660, and held the office until he resigned from age and infirmity in 1709, when he was succeeded by his son, Mr. Bertie Entwistle, who continued in it till his death, in or about 1723. Another

* On the formation of Brunswick Street, projected about 1786, this thoroughfare was carried down, what was called "Smock Alley," through the houses on the west side of Chorley Street, thence through Drury Lane, sweeping away a portion of the north end of the theatre, thence through Old Custom House Yard,—on the site of which stand the Goree Piazzas—to the formerly called "New," but now George's Dock.

of Mr. Entwistle's sons was, in 1731, churchwarden of Liverpool, an office at that time of some dignity. It is to be regretted that the name of the street was changed, as it seems a good thing to perpetuate the memory of old inhabitants and worthy people of a town, as well as tried and long trusted public servants. On the completion of the theatre, the name of Entwistle was "expunged from the calendar," and the present name of the street was given, in imitation of the whereabout of the great temple of Thalia and Melpomene in the metropolis. This theatre stood on the site of the present Corn Exchange, Brunswick Street, opposite the upper corner of Drury Lane. It is described as being a handsome structure, 20 yards in front and 16 deep. The interior was elegantly decorated, and the scenes are said to have been extremely well painted by London artists. There was a pit, boxes, and gallery, and by the prices, 3s., 2s., and 1s., it appears that the admission was similar to that charged at the theatres at present. The house held, when full, £80, so that we may conclude that it was about the size of the late Liver Theatre, in Church Street, which held about £80 at precisely the same charges of admission. The house was only open three times a week. Behind the boxes there was a refreshment room, in which a young woman presided, who supplied the audience with tea and coffee, wine, and other refreshments. The manager was the facetious Ned Shuter, of whom many odd anecdotes are told. The bill * before us is dated July 13, 1767, being five years after the opening of the theatre. The company seems to have been a good one, as we find several names of metropolitan celebrity appearing in the cast of the Tragedy of *Romeo and Juliet*. Mr. Bensley and Mr. King were London favourites, while Mrs. Mattocks and Mrs. Parsons were equally prominent members of the London boards. Mrs. Mattocks was an excellent and charming actress, and was highly spoken of by the critics of her time.

The next bill to which attention is drawn is one announcing a musical performance or concert at the theatre in Drury Lane, for the benefit of a Miss Brent. It is dated 20th September, 1762. It will be seen that it is divided, as our modern concerts are, into two parts. Miss Brent had evidently some pretensions to be a vocalist, by the quality of the music she selected; and it will be noticed that amongst the performers appears a Mr. Arne, jun., a relative, doubtless, of the celebrated Dr. Arne, whose compositions

* See objects exhibited.

are predominant in the vocal portion of the concert. This theatre or "play house" as it was termed, was taken down about the close of the last century. It had previous to its removal been used as a carrier's warehouse, and for similar purposes.

The next bill is an advertisement of a concert to take place at the Ranelagh Gardens, for the benefit of Mrs. Ellis. It is dated August 27, but the year is not given. We may, however, infer that it was issued about the same period as Miss Brent's bill, as we find that the paper, type, and imprint, being that of a man named Sadler, are similar in each case. The Ranelagh Gardens were a very favourite resort of the people of the last century. The tavern, which was formerly called the "White House," stood upon a portion of the ground where the Adelphi Hotel now stands. The premises had a frontage of about 60 feet. In the interior there was ample accommodation for the public, and the house was well furnished with every requisite to conduce to the comfort of the guests. In it there was a spacious concert-room, in which, doubtless, the concert, advertised by Mrs. Ellis, was given. When the gardens about the house were converted into a place of amusement, the name of the "White House" was changed to Ranelagh or Ranelagh Gardens, in imitation of the celebrated place of public resort at Chelsea, in Middlesex, then so much in fashion. The proprietor was a man named Gibson, whose brother kept the "Folly," in Islington, which stood on the site of Christ Church. The gardens were laid out very tastefully, with an abundance of flowers and shrubs. In different parts were alcoves, or arbours, for the reception of company, in which refreshments were supplied.

In the centre of the gardens there was a large fish-pond, in which were great numbers of carp, tench, and other fish. The gardens were a favourite resort of ladies in the afternoon, when the fish were fed by the fair visitors, much amusement being created by the struggles of the finny tribe to secure whatever was thrown to them. Near the fish-pond was an orchestra, wherein a band of music played constantly during the evenings. At the close of the evening a display of fire-works occasionally took place. The bill before us gives a list of the pieces to be fired.

When these gardens were in existence the neighbourhood was scarcely built upon. Where Warren Street and the streets adjacent now are, was at that period all open country. Lime Street was then called Lime Kiln

Lane, from the lime works then in operation in it. Ranelagh Street takes its name from the Gardens. It was called formerly the Road to Wavertree. The last concert that took place at Ranelagh was about 1796. Some years previous to this, a portion of the upper part of the gardens had been taken off and converted into a ropery, called "the White Ropery."

The fourth and last bill bears date January 22, 1768, and advertises a performance at the Golden Lyon, in Dale Street, one of the four inns then only established in the town. The entertainment is to be given in the Buck's Room, and the admission is 1*s.* 6*d.* This "Lecture on Heads" was very popular at that period, and had attracted crowds of persons in London when first produced. It is surprising that some of those whose talents enable them to entertain an audience single-handed have not resuscitated this clever lecture. We must, however, rejoice that lectures now are given on subjects of more importance, which, while they occupy the public mind, tend to amuse and at the same time instruct; and in conveying information they also awaken a spirit of enquiry into the subjects which are brought under notice.

James Stonehouse. — A Liverpool tract on the Slave Trade, 1788.

Squib Book of the Election of 1761, with list of the Burgesses from 1760.

A tract by P. D. Parquot, entitled "Plenty following Scarcity." Liverpool, 1803.

The Secretary drew the attention of the Meeting to the fact that a Donation from Mr. Mortimer had been announced erroneously at p. 120, of vol. iv. It was not the "Evening Mail" of 1790, but "Adams' Chester Courant" for 1748, '49, '50. It is interesting, as containing Liverpool advertisements and news of the period.

The following articles were EXHIBITED:—

By T. Langton Birley, Esq. — An elegant gold coin of the Emperor Vespasian, found near Kirkham.

By R. J. Buckley, Esq. — Mexican antiquities procured from primeval Pyramids on the table-land of Mexico. They consisted of eight grotesque terra cotta heads, of the sort that never have bodies attached; two obsidian javelin heads; an arrow head of dark flint; a sacrificial knife of the same material, curiously carved; three flat beads of stone, curiously pierced; one rounded bead, unpierced; one irregularly shaped, and partly pierced.

By D. H. Lambert, Esq. — A vol. 16mo. "A Pithie Exhortation to her Majestie for establishing her Successor to the Crowne, &c., by Peter Wentworth, Esq. Imprinted 1598."

By C. B. Robinson, Esq. — The following Brass Rubbings:—

1. One of the Lytton Bulwer family, from Tideswell Church, had on the scroll of the male and female respectively, "Mater Dei miserere mei," and "Mater Dei memento mei."
2. From Whitnash, containing three figures.
3. From Chesterfield, of the Foljambe family; a knight in armour and his wife, with their family quarterings.
4. From Tideswell. The Trinity is represented in an oval, viz: the Father holding on his arms a crucifix on which the Son is represented, and the Spirit, like a dove, hovering on his shoulder. The surrounding inscription is, "Ego sum alpha et omega, primus et novissimus."

5. One of Robert Pursglove, a distinguished ecclesiastic, and a native of Tideswell, from Tideswell Church.

By Joseph Mayer, F.S.A. A curious ancient representation of the General Judgment, in Limoges enamel, being part of the collection in his Egyptian Museum.

Also a similar illustration of the Judgment Scene, in the last number of the Journal of the British Archæological Association.

An original letter from Oliver Cromwell, written at Warrington 20th August, 1648. *See illustration.*

By Dr. Hume. A Vulgate Bible, 1519. The woodcuts show two or more successive acts of the persons represented.

A letter was read from Professor Phillips, Assistant-General Secretary of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, announcing the reception, by the General Council in London, of the Memorial from Liverpool, praying the Association to hold its meeting for 1854 in this town.

Mr. Mayer drew attention to the discovery of a Roman Sarcophagus at the Minories, London, fastened by iron clasps, and containing the body of a female. He also mentioned that he had visited the Castle of Pevensey, where antiquarian researches were going forward under the superintendence of C. Roach Smith, Esq., F.S.A.

PAPERS.

I.—The Materials for the History of the two Counties, and the mode of using them.

By John Robson, Esq.

The object of the present communication is to review the historic materials which we possess, and the uses which have been, or may be, made of them—in compiling the history of the counties of Lancashire and Cheshire.

These materials consist partly of written records, partly of remains—the handiwork of the inhabitants, and lastly of the languages used by them. But at present we can only offer a very slight sketch of the bearings of these materials upon the geography, ethnology, and history of the district, from the commencement of our era, till the (so-called) departure of the Romans from the island.

All our knowledge of the geography of this neighbourhood for the first four centuries, is derived from two sources—the geographical tables of Ptolemy and the Itinerarium of Antoninus.

The work of Ptolemy is said to have been compiled about 130, and comprises merely lists of names, with the latitude and longitude of each as calculated by the Alexandrian astronomer. We first have the following names on the west coast, proceeding from north to south:—*Ituna Estuary, Moricambe Estuary, Haven of the Setantii, Belisama Estuary, Seteia Estuary, Outlets of the River Toisobis, Promontory of the Cangani.* I need hardly say that notwithstanding all that has been written upon these names, not one has been positively identified, and the last only, is by some collateral evidence, probably conjectured to have been Ormeshead. Ptolemy afterwards describes the Brigantes as inhabiting the whole breadth of the island, and from the towns named, it is certain that their territory included Cumberland, Westmoreland, Durham, Yorkshire, and either the whole, or part of Lancashire. Between the Brigantes and the Ordovices were the Cornabii, and as Deuna, one of their towns, is named as the head quarters of the twentieth legion, it is identified with Chester. The boundary, however, between them and the Brigantes is not known, and has been fixed by some on the Mersey, by others on the Ribble. One of the towns of the Brigantes, Rhigodunum, was formerly placed at Warrington, most likely from a supposed resemblance of the name, but Horsley fixed it at Ribchester; and though there is no corroborative evidence, the relative position points that out as the probable site.

The other work referred to, the ITINERARIUM of Antoninus, is also a list of names, exhibiting certain routes from Rome to the extremities of the empire. The object of these *Itinera* has been disputed. Most writers have supposed that they were the routes of the Roman Legions on march; but there are many objections to this hypothesis. The Itinera in Britain are only sixteen, and several of them in duplicate. There is no *Iter* across the north part of the island, where we know the troops were generally in active service, and the course of the routes themselves—such for instance as the second Iter which goes from Carlisle to York, from York to Chester, and from Chester by a roundabout way to London—shews the advance or retreat of soldiers could not have been the primary object of the Iter. I would, therefore, suggest that the Itinerarium of Antoninus is nothing more or less than the book of the

Imperial Posts—a curious subject, and well worth more attention than we can now bestow upon it. Suetonius tells us * that the Emperor Augustus first placed young men at short intervals on the military roads, and afterwards carriages, that he might have the more speedy intelligence of what was doing in every province. It would seem that these couriers were at first merely bearers of despatches which were transferred from one to another on the route, but were afterwards themselves conveyed in carriages so as to give the Emperor an opportunity of examining them personally, if he wished to do so.

From time to time modifications might be made in the routes, and as new editions were published, new routes introduced and later names assigned to old stations; but these changes scarcely authorise us to assign the reign of Theodosius as the date of the Itinerary (the middle of the fifth century), because a town appears under a name which was then first introduced. Continual allusions are made to these Posts in the classic authors, especially in such works as the epistles of Pliny and Symmachus. But we have in the Theodosian code, which dates about 430, most minute directions and instructions issued by various Emperors, with reference to the service of the Cursus Publicus—which I venture to translate—"The Imperial Post."

About a century later we have the following remarkable account from the Anecdota of Procopius:—"The Roman Emperors of former times devised a plan by which whatever was doing amongst their enemies, any sedition in states, anything connected with the governors, or whatever else might hap pen, should be told them and come to their knowledge as soon as possible. The conveyance of the annual tribute was also safely and rapidly managed by the same means, which was a *public course*. They appointed stations—eight—never less than five—as a day's journey for a well girt man. In each station or stable were 40 horses, and stable men in proportion, and thus the couriers, having a constant change of trained horses, at times go ten days' journey in a single day."† He proceeds to speak of the profit which the neighbourhood made out of these establishments.

The great object of these posts was to convey regular and sure intelligence to the seat of government, and officers called *Agentes in rebus*, and *Curiosi*, who seem to have combined the functions of high police, post-

* *Aug., Cap.* 48. † Anecd, p. 131.

masters and imperial messengers, had the superintendence of them. They included horses, mules, asses and oxen; with the farriers, smiths and hostlers, requisite for such an establishment; carriages of various sorts, both light and heavy, the weight allowed for each being fixed by Imperial Rescript. Certain officers (in the fourth century), the Prætorian Prefect, and the Master of the Palace, were, besides the Emperor, the only persons who could grant warrants for the use of the Imperial Posts, and then merely to the highest officers. Any attempt to abuse this privilege was severely punished. These stations or stages were fixed only upon certain roads, very few indeed compared with the number of military ways we have in the kingdom, and seeming to bear the same relation to them, as the later mail coach routes to the highways.*

A short analysis of the routes in this country will shew the real nature of these stations very clearly.

The first Iter is from the Limes or Wall to Prætorium. It commences on the east side of the island, and goes on to York—the route to Prætorium is continued to the eastern coast of Yorkshire. It is very probable that this should be two routes, York being the inland terminus of both.

The second begins north of Carlisle, on the western side of the island—passes to York, from York goes to Chester, and then by London to Richborough.

The third is from London to Dover.

The fourth along the same line to the Port of Lymne.

The fifth is from London by Lincoln and York to Carlisle.

The sixth from London to Lincoln by Leicester.

The seventh from the south coast—by Southampton to London.

The eighth from York to London—combining the 5th and 6th Iters.

The ninth from London to the east coast of Norfolk.

The tenth was on the west side of the island, probably from some place on the coast of Cumberland to Middlewich.

The eleventh from Caernarvon to Chester.

The twelfth from some place on the Severn to Wroxeter.

The thirteenth from Usk to Calleva, supposed to be Silchester.

The fourteenth—another route between the same places; and the fifteenth —from this Calleva to Exeter.

* Cod. Theod. Tom 2 Art. Cursus Publicus.

The Itinera intersecting Lancashire and Cheshire, are the 2nd and 10th. The 2nd contains the route from York to Chester, by *Mamucium* and *Condate;* the 10th appears to have run through the county, *Bremetonax* representing Lancaster, *Coccium*, a point about two miles north of Preston, *Mancunium*, Standish, *Condate*, Stockton Heath, and *Mediolanum*, Middlewich. These places, south of Lancaster, were mere post stations—villages of more or less importance, and exhibiting, not remains of military works, which would in fact have been uncalled for, but Roman pottery, coins, foundations of buildings,—perhaps at Stockton Heath used as a manufactory of earthenware—and having every appearance of peace and prosperity.

The remains of this early period, still in existence, are of far more importance than the Tables or the Itinerary. Chester, Manchester, Ribchester, and Lancaster, were evidently walled towns; and Melandra Castle, on the Etherow at the extreme point of Derbyshire, has been also in the line of Roman fortresses erected to secure their conquests. Overborough, in the north of Lancashire, was another of these garrison towns—all of them well fortified, and either in important passes or on large rivers. The only one retaining a trace of its Roman name is Manchester, which, up to the end of the fifteenth century, is written Mamchester. Of the others, one is simply Chester, another, Borough—both Saxon words for fortress—while Ribchester and Lancaster were the Chesters on the Ribble and the Lune.

But besides these important places, the whole breadth of the counties is strewn with the remains of Roman occupation. There are many *Streets* in Cheshire, which, most likely, date from this period: and we may not be far wrong in supposing that the same or equivalent cities, towns, and manors, as well as roads, were in existence in the third and fourth centuries, as we find in the maps constructed before the great changes of the last century. Mr. Kemble is of opinion that a greater breadth of land was under tillage in the heptarchy than in the seventeenth century, and that the population of the fourth century was equal to that of the age of Queen Anne.

The great storehouses of Roman remains are the sites of their towns; and here we may remark, that these places seem to have been deserted when the native population resumed its independence. Properly speaking, there were no towns in existence before the arrival of the Romans:

they did not form a part of Teutonic institutions; and when, after many years, the people begun again to congregate in masses, the ruins of the Roman settlements were either left to themselves, or served as quarries for building materials. Overborough and Melandra Castle were utterly deserted; Lancaster and Manchester no longer occupied the Roman sites; and Chester appears to have been repeopled only in the eighth or ninth century. The fact that the ditches, which, no doubt, originally surrounded the walled towns are not traceable, goes to prove that during the Roman dominion they had already ceased to be kept up as defensible fortresses; and is curious and important.

It is very desirable that accurate descriptions and drawings of all relics should be made on the spot; and where practicable, models or casts should be taken and deposited in the local museums. Every year adds to the discovery, and, unfortunately, to the destruction of these memorials, and yet we find an unaccountable apathy in many quarters respecting them. All specimens of Roman masonry should have particular attention. The sort of stone, the shape, size and tooling of each, the courses and joints, the nature of the mortar, all become objects of interest and importance; and, though it is seldom done, as making the matter dry, should always be described technically. Wherever a find of coins occurs, it is of great importance to know the earliest and latest of the series, and the proportion which the money of one emperor bears to that of another.

Pottery, again, can only be found in any quantity where there has been a regular settlement, it may be considered as a proof of a long established and quiet homestead. The potters' names, or marks, are often found on the red ware called Samian, and these should always be noted. In all the pottery found at Stockton Heath (where there is reason for believing a pottery was established,) I am not aware of any having been found with a potter's mark, while at Ribchester we find it just the reverse. Arms are seldom found, and domestic utensils are of still rarer occurrence. I have seen a beautiful bronze strainer, or cullender, which was found in Chat Moss, and, no doubt, of Roman workmanship. It belonged to Mr. Blackburne, and is probably at Hale.

It is remarkable how few tombs have been discovered in the counties. Cultivation sweeps away the Roman urn and the native kistvaen, and the contents are scattered over the fields as things of little account, in a few

months to be utterly forgotten. Still, it seems highly probable that a careful examination along the sides of the roads outside the towns we have named, would lead to further discoveries; and valuable evidence as to the names of places, and state of the country, may still be looked for.

Important, also, are the remains of these ancient roads; several of which have been already described in the transactions of the Society. But before we can place implicit confidence in the age assigned to many of them, much remains to be done. Whitaker of Manchester, who exhibited great industry in tracing the roads which he asserted centred in that town, was satisfied with what would now be thought slight evidence; and we find other practical archæologists state that "the road may be traced so and so—very distinct perhaps in one place, less so in another"—but never by any chance telling us *what* it is that is traceable. Perhaps we shall not err much in supposing the roads in this country were pretty nearly in the Roman times, what they were a hundred and fifty years ago. As the population was probably about the same, and the proportions of town and country inhabitants were not much different, there would be highways, cross and occupation roads, as matters of necessity. The imperial routes would, no doubt, be carefully looked after; but, strange enough, the surveyor of the Northern Watling Street, Mr. McLaughlan, expresses a doubt whether it was ever finished in certain parts. The same doubt arises with respect to the great road through Cheshire and Lancashire. In some places there is no trace of a substructure, the gravel only shewing the course of the road, in others, again, the gravel itself is not found, and we can only be guided by the track from one portion to another. Future investigations may shew whether it has not actually been destroyed when the island resumed its independence, and certain parts of it might be considered as an encroachment upon the *mark*, or the land belonging to the inhabitants—the public roads at that period running, not through, but between these marks, shires, or parishes. In the fourth century, we learn from the Rescripts of the Emperors, that the roads, generally, were in a bad state, and that no property was exempt from the tribute for their repair. Sometimes, it would seem that a rate was laid; at others, the owners of the property through which a road passed, had to keep it in order. A road marked as Roman in the Ordnance map in Saddleworth, is on the side of a hill, about five yards wide, and paved with small flat slabs, mixed with cobble stones. What the substructure is, I do not know. Another very curious frag-

ment of an early road, is in the north of the county, on Furness or Ulverston Fell; it is in connection with one of those mysterious sites which have been described as ancient British towns. The road is formed across some marshy ground at the foot of a hill, is not more than four feet wide, formed of small stones placed edgeway up, and with a narrow border of curbstones on each side. It would be a real addition to our knowledge if we could ascertain what actual difference exists in the construction of early roads, as it is possible that a correct classification would bring out some unexpected results. The names, too, of old roads should be strictly investigated. Was Watling Street in existence prior to the Romans? Is the word *street* itself, derived from *strata*, as commonly supposed, or is it the genuine English word *stræt?* Is there any evidence that the Watling Street in Delamere, was so named in the thirteenth century?

The amount of our knowledge of the topography of Roman Lancashire and Cheshire seems to be this. That there were five fortified towns already named—two of them, Chester and Ribchester, of considerable size and importance. Two lines of road belonging to the Cursus Publicus—with the post stations, Mamucium, Condate, and Deva, and Mediolanum Condate, Mancunium, and Bremetonax, and sure evidence of undisturbed Roman occupation over the whole of both counties. And we now have to proceed to another equally important but much more obscure subject of investigation—the ethnology of the district.

The documentary evidence is trifling in itself, and by no means improved in passing through a Latin medium. The Romans had no taste for these inquiries—even at the present day it would seem almost impossible for an Italian to give an English proper name without the most ludicrous blundering; and we cannot suppose that at a time when these proper names were first written by the Romans, the southern interpretation of the northern sounds would be very accurate, if at all intelligible to the natives. But it unfortunately happened that for hundreds of years after, these Latinised forms were necessarily adopted by all who wrote in Latin—as almost every writer did—till in later times the Latin names themselves were anglicised, and referred back to the period to which they originally belonged. Thus the island was called Britannia, and the inhabitants Britanni. Britain and Britons are of much later date, derived from these Latin forms, and not from any native source—the Welsh traditions notwithstanding.

Most of the classic authors describe the inhabitants as indigenous.

Strabo points out certain distinguishing marks between them and the Celts. Tacitus describes the Caledonians as from Germany, and the Silures or natives of South Wales as from Spain. It would be an unprofitable labor to go through the different opinions given by later writers. There is none however who identifies the Britanni with the Celts; and the common opinion that the inhabitants of this island at the commencement of our era were Celts, is derived from Welsh traditions, traditions unconfirmed by any evidence from any other quarter.

The most important material in the history of races is undoubtedly language—but this has been most strangely abused. Without dwelling upon the follies and vagaries which have been perpetrated in hypothetical schemes of tracing nations by means of fanciful etymologies,* I shall endeavour, in as few words as possible, to shew what any one may prove for himself, and easily understand.

We have in the Greek language a complete series of works extending over 2,600 years, exhibiting the various changes that have taken place, and shewing how very gradual those changes have been. Our examples of Latin, excluding the early fragments, go back 2000 years. The English language offers an unbroken series of native works for upwards 1300 years; and in all these cases, the originals have become dead languages—the Englishman requiring the same sort of instruction to master the Saxon as he would to acquire a foreign language, and yet it would be impossible for any one to say that at such a particular period, Saxon ceased and the English tongue began. We may distinguish three periods in the history of our language—the first ending in the 12th century, the second in the 15th; but one might almost imagine that these changes took place in virtue of some general law of progress—a law, the conditions of which we are yet ignorant of. If, then, we look at Western Europe, we find three distinct families of languages—the Celtic to the extreme west—the Teutonic to the north and east—and the third, which may be called Italic, to the south. Each of these families includes a number of cognate languages or dialects in relation to one another. Thus the Welsh, Cornish, and Irish, are cognate languages, derived from one common stock. The

* Thus in O'Connor's Chronicles of Eri we have an account of the arrival of a body of Scots at Penketh, on the Mersey, which he proves by stating that the name is Pensciot, or head of the Scots. How far this may be true I have no means of knowing, but a small river, called the Penk, runs through the township, and offers a nearer and more natural derivation of Penketh.

English, German, and Danish, had also evidently a common origin; but though our Saxon relics are older than anything belonging to the other Teutonic dialects, it would evidently be wrong to say they were derived from it. Fragments of Mœso-Gothic are still in existence, bearing the same relation to the German that the oldest Saxon does to English, but the Mœso-Gothic is as distinct from the Saxon as the modern German is from the English. So with reference to the family I have called Italic, and which comprises the French, Spanish, and Portuguese. These are cognate languages—not derived from the Latin—but having one common origin with it, and lastly it is quite certain that the Celt, the Teuton, and the Italic were all derived from one source, each containing a number of radical forms common to the others—notwithstanding the utter existing dissimilarity—and I believe these common radical forms are more numerous in the Celtic and Italic than in the Teutonic dialects. Wherever any tribe belonging to these families established itself we find unmistakeable traces of it in the names of towns and settlements, and any difficulties we meet with arise from the changes that have taken place in the many centuries that have passed since the names were given, and in the corruptions, whether from ignorance or any other cause, which unwritten languages are especially subject to.

If this reasoning be correct, it follows that at our earliest historic period, the arrival of Julius Cæsar, the island was peopled by the Teutonic and Celtic tribes within those boundaries which are defined by the names of places which they still retain. The gradual encroachments of the eastern upon the western tribes is shewn in the gradual advance of the language, while the high tide mark of the weaker nation is still left by the names of the towns and villages they once occupied.

If we examine the ordnance survey of Cheshire, Shropshire, and Wales, we must be struck with the names of places as belonging to two distinct nations or families. A mile on the eastern side of this limit and we find no Celtic name,—while the Teutonic names between it and Offa's Dyke are clearly introductions of a later date, marking the settlement of Englishmen within the Welsh border; and we have decisive evidence that this conquest was made before 755, when the country is represented as having been destroyed by the Mercian King Offa; but notwithstanding this destruction, and though the Welsh language has long ceased to be spoken outside of Offa's Dyke, the Welsh names of places still mark the extent of

their original possessions, and leave no doubt how far the Celtic people had settlements to the east.

Within Lancashire and Cheshire, however, I believe that there is not a single town or place with a name of undoubted Celtic origin. It is true that a few names may be found with some element that may be considered Celtic; but it must be borne in mind that the Teutonic and Celtic were both derived from a common stock, and that there will be radicals, generally monosyllables belonging to both languages. But I repeat, if such exist at all they are exceedingly rare, and that the whole list of names is of Teutonic origin. *

If the common opinion were correct, that is, that the ancient Britons were Celtic or Welsh, it would follow that after the departure of the Romans, the name of every place must have been changed and the inhabitants entirely extirpated, in the course of a very few years, and by a people infinitely less numerous than themselves. But we may assert that no nation, however completely subdued, ever suffered such a fate; and such a massacre in our country, would have left abundant traces behind. The Isle of Man, with a small surface and scanty population of Celts, was subjugated over and over again and underwent greater losses, and yet the people still retain their own language. The Cornish language only died out about a century ago; but in both these districts we have the proper names betraying their Celtic origin. In the last number of the Quarterly Review (March, 1853) p. 348, we are told "that the descendants of the conquerors of Ireland had so far degenerated by the beginning of the 16th century as to have adopted the Gaelic tongue, so that it was unusual to find even the nobility speaking English."

This difficulty of extirpating a language occurred to one of our earliest historians, Nennius, and he gives us a very curious solution of it. He states that Maximus, who had assumed the purple in Britain, took a large

* In reference to this subject I may refer to Notes and Queries, vol. 5, p. 197, for the following remarkable corroboration.:—

ANTIQUITY OF COUNTY BOUNDARIES.—In the loop of Devonshire, on the western side of the Tamar, formed by the parishes of Werrington and North Petherwyn, none of the names of places are Cornish, but end in the Saxon termination of *cot*, whilst in all other parts the Cornish names are used up to the banks of the river. Modern Cornwall is a province so well defined by the language of its place-names, that it could be marked off without difficulty if its artificial boundary lines were omitted on a map. How does the limited extent of the language consist with some accounts of the former extent of the kingdom?

Launceston. T. R. P.

native army over to the continent, and there defeated and slew Gratian, the King of Rome, and became sole Emperor. He would not discharge the soldiers whom he had brought from Britain, nor allow them to return to their wives, children, and property; but he gave them many lands from Mount St. Bernard to a city called Cantguic. "They themselves," says Nennius, "are at Westheap, that is Crutochideint (ad cumulum occidentalum), for the Armorican Britons who are beyond sea, passing hence with the tyrant Maximus in the expedition, because they could not return, laid waste to the ground the western parts of Gaul, nor left a male alive; and having taken in marriage their wives and daughters, cut out all their tongues, lest their descendants should learn their mother tongue; whence it is we call them in our language Letewicion—that is, half dumb, because they speak indistinctly."*

I believe that no language can become extinct, till every female belonging to the nation using it is extinct. It is emphatically the mother tongue; and as long as mothers and children retain their natural relation to each other, the father's language is of little consequence. It is this fact that explains the fusion of a conquering army into a settled people, as the Normans who took possession of the north part of France, and who most likely spoke Danish, had become genuine Frenchmen when they invaded England, and spoke a language that was not even cognate with their own.

Besides these materials afforded by the language, we have also various remains not of Roman construction. These have till lately been considered as Celtic, and Celtic names have been given to them. But the researches of the northern Archæologists have shewn that stone circles, Kistvaens, and Maenhirs are found abundantly on the shores of the Baltic, and that they were the work of a Teutonic race. I may be allowed perhaps to refer to the Calder stones in your own neighbourhood, as the only relic of the sort near us, and would merely remark that the way in which they have been arranged and the care taken for their preservation shews—to say nothing of regardlessness of cost—greater sense of neatness than knowledge of archæology. The best way of dealing with such things is to protect them from injury—as to any restoration, the unanimous opinion of the members of the Archæological Institute when assembled at Stonehenge, was decidedly opposed to it. In the case of the Calder stones, there is a com-

* Monumenta Historica, p.

plete metamorphosis; but I hope some member of the Society will give us a correct account of what actually existed some forty or fifty years ago. Some of the most remarkable relics of this description in our district, are the pots and pans and the idol in Saddleworth, which ought to be carefully drawn and planned—or what would be still better, modelled. There are some remains in Furness also, of this character, near the site of the road which I have already referred to.

Historical facts connected with the two counties during the period we are investigating, are very few. We know from Tacitus,* that in the year 50, Ostorius Scapula conquered the Cangii and the Brigantes; the former tribe seem to have inhabited the north coast of Wales, and we have pigs of lead inscribed de Ceangis and de Kiangis;† which, in all probability, came from the lead mines about Llandudno, where many traces of Roman mining have been found. Caractacus was also defeated by the same general, and fled from the scene of his defeat—which was, very likely, on the Alyn—to the Queen of the Brigantes, who gave him up to the Romans, and the next year was herself at war with Aulus Didius, the successor of Ostorius. What is described as the Conquest of the Island, probably left the inhabitants most of their original freedom, but in 61, we are told that Catus Decianus, the proprætor, revoked the immunities granted to the chiefs by Claudius. A general insurrection followed, and Suetonius Paulinus, who had reached Anglesey, undoubtedly by Chester and the coast, was recalled to suppress the danger. The overthrow of Boadicea was the last effort of England proper against the power of Rome. The Roman governors were frequently changed, and in the year 70, Petilius Cerealis is said by Tacitus, to have struck terror into the Brigantes, to have fought many battles, sometimes not bloodless ones, and to have seized great part of the Brigantes by right of conquest. Under Petilius, Julius Agricola commanded the twentieth legion, of which so many relics remain at Chester.

Agricola became the governor of Britain in 78, when he attacked the Ordovices, and reduced the island of Anglesey, and in his third campaign (of his second we have no particulars,) he advanced as far north as the Tay. The year following he spent in securing his conquests,—in his seventh

* Mon. Hist., xxxvi.

† It is curious that Ptolemy has the Promontory of the Cangani, in North Wales, while he calls Deva—Devana. Does the name Diganwy or Gannoc contain the elements of Cangani?

campaign (A.D. 84) he defeated Galgacus, resigned his command, and returned to Rome.

The next notice we have is a curious one, under the year 138, and during the reign of Antoninus Pius. Pausanias tells us that the emperor cut off a large portion of the land of the Brigantes in Britain, because they had made an attack upon the land of Genounia, which was subject to the Romans. (Lib. 8, c. 43.) In the Mon. Hist. the name is anglicised into Genuini. It is not mentioned elsewhere, and some archæologists have supposed that it is represented in the Welch name Gwyneth. It is, however, clear that the conquest of the Brigantes did not imply absolute bondage, and that the inhabitants must have been left pretty much to their liberty. In the second century, the north part of the island was subject to incursions of the Caledonian tribes; but the revolts in the southern provinces appear to have been among the Roman soldiers, and not of the natives—(anno 192)—and it seems that the legions in Britain always acted an important part in the bloody games that were played for the empire of the world. At the beginning of the third century, the Roman emperors, especially Severus, made great efforts to subdue the Caledonians, but without success. In the third century the island becomes more and more important in the empire, and many of the emperors, whose reigns might be numbered by days or weeks, raised their standards here, and assumed the purple.

It is not till the latter part of the fourth century that we find the Saxons named as taking part in the wars in Britain. Ammianus Marcellinus tells us (364) that they with the Picts, Scots, and Attacotti made incursions, and barbarian attacks became frequent.* Hitherto the revolts and rebellions had been amongst the Roman forces—one general after another aspiring to the purple, or, at least, to the government of the island. In 383 and 387, Maximus, who appears to have become supreme in the extreme west, is said to have led large armies from the island to the Continent. He was

* Ammianus Marcellinus has a singular account, which, though not generally referred to our own country, and therefore, omitted in the Mon. Hist., seems to me more characteristic of the Saxon than the Oriental. In speaking of a Syrian tribe, he observes, that they made attacks when least expected upon houses, villas, and towns. That it was impossible to guard against irruptions which were made in various and distant places, and on this account, he says, the Saxons also are feared more than other enemies. As a sample of the mode of proceeding, he gives the following description:—A band of wretches collect together, assuming the characters of tax-gatherer and judge—with a crier going before, they enter the city in the shades of evening, surround the stately house of some chief, as one proscribed and condemned, sack the place, murder many, and disappear before morning.

defeated and slain in 388—many of his troops refused to return to Britain, and settled in Armorica. Ater this, it would seem, that the actual forces in the island were few—a legion might pass over from the Continent, and return when a new pretender to the empire required its services. The troops were more employed in civil contentions, than in keeping a subdued nation in subjection; and we are told, "That the barbarians beyond the Rhine, ravaging everything at their pleasure, compelled both the inhabitants of the Britannic islands, as well as some of the Celtic nations, to revolt from the empire of the Romans, and to live independent of them, no longer obeying their laws. The people, therefore, of Britain taking up arms, and braving every danger, freed their cities from the invading barbarians. And the whole Armoric, and other provinces of Gaul, imitating the Britains, liberated themselves in like manner—expelling the Roman præfects, and setting up a civil polity according to their own inclination.

"This defection of Britain, and of the Celtic nations, took place during the time of Constantine's usurpation, 407–411: the barbarians rising up in consequence of his neglect of the government."*

The historian who records this was Zosimus, who lived in the first half of the fifth century, and, consequently, was contemporary with the events he relates. I need hardly call your attention to the importance of his narrative—which, though noticed by Gibbon and others, has not, as far as I am aware, received the attention which it deserves—I believe that it contains the complete key to the subsequent history of the country.

Having so far sketched the history of the country from the original historians, let us try to form some conception of the actual state of society, and from these details, and subsequent events, reconcile the various conflicting, and in the present form, irreconcilable statements.

We have already attempted to shew that the island, at this period, was peopled by a Tuetonic race on the eastern side of the island, and a Celtic race on the west, and that the actual boundaries of these races may still be traced by the names of their settlements still existing.

The Christian religion was introduced into the island at an early period, and, no doubt, made the same progress here as elsewhere—for we find in the sixth century, that the Celtic population was decidedly Christian—and

* Mon. Hist., 778.

when the Emperor Constantine was converted, it would follow, as a matter of course, that the whole of the Government officials, and all, in fact, belonging to the Roman party, would follow the example of the Emperor. But subsequent events as clearly shew, that the Teutonic race did not, as a body, join the new faith—no doubt there were exceptions—but the mass of the people adhered to their old superstitions; and when they declared their independence, rebuilt their temples, and again erected their idols. You will, therefore, see that at this period there were three political or politico-religious parties in the island. The Teutonic, by far the most numerous and powerful; the Celtic, safe in their mountain land; and allied with them by religious ties and hatred of the Teutons, the Roman party, who had previously, during the Roman dominion, formed the governing aristocracy of the country, with their clients and connections. And it is these who are called Britanni, in Gildas and the other Latin writers. We may now understand how the strength of this party was gone when the Roman legions left the island, and as they exclusively furnished the additional troops which followed the various usurpers of the empire to the Continent, we see how the island, as far as that party was concerned, was drained of its strength. The change which had taken place was immense. The old building was destroyed, and a new one had to be erected; and in the meantime, the people had to scramble as they could. For a time, no doubt it was

> the good old law
> Sufficeth them, the simple plan,—
> That they shall take who have the power
> And they shall keep who can.

It would soon have been found that a government was necessary; and it seems a natural consequence that the people should turn to such stocks as might claim a descent from the royal and heroic, or, rather, divine lineage (for all their kings trace their pedigree to a divine origin)—hence Hengist, with his three keels became King of Kent, and the other kingdoms of the Heptarchy were formed in a similar way. The Romano-British power seems to have resisted only in Kent, and on the west side of the kingdom, and to have suffered as much from internal dissensions as from external enemies.

That Beda's account of the conquest of the country by the Jutes, Angles, and Saxons, is unintelligible and at variance with facts, is acknowledged virtually by every writer upon the subject—as each has had to supply, according to his own views, what was wanting in the ecclesiastical history.

The whole territory of these tribes, as described by Beda, is not larger than one of the smaller counties in England—and probably more barren and with a less population than any,—and it is utterly incredible that they could have subdued a large and populous and rich island, which had only just thrown off the Roman yoke, put its governors to flight, and established its own independence.

We know from Ptolemy, that two or three small islands near the Elbe were in his time peopled with what he calls Saxons; and we learn from Meginhard, who lived in the eighth century, but probably had some history which is now lost, that these Saxons had fled from Britain and the Roman conquerors, and established themselves in these very islands.* It is true that Meginhard has misapplied this statement; but still the fact remains, and affords a link which fills up the vacant space in history—the course of which would seem to have been this.

At the end of the 4th century, the Roman power in the island became disorganized and effete, and the English people assumed their independence, their original laws and religion, and like people of more modern times, their very liberty puzzled them. They consisted of freemen and nobles, and they appear to have sent to the continent for chiefs descended from their own race to contend against the Roman party, who would have the advantage of union. The members of this party are termed BRETS, a construction of Britannic, but more generally WEALLAS, a word meaning *strangers*, and applied more especially to the Romans, but which would be altogether without meaning if used by the Saxons with reference to the original inhabitants of the country.† These Weallas were gradually subdued—not exterminated—they would necessarily consist of the descendants of the Romans, and of the auxiliary cohorts who were drafted from all parts of the empire, and no doubt a number of the English race, who in the course of the Roman progress, had become closely united with them by interest, blood, or religion.

Amongst other things that have puzzled our later historians, is an officer who is named in the Notitia Imperii—the Count of the Saxon coast—his jurisdiction extending from Portsmouth eastwards, and along the east coast to Norfolk. It will not be necessary to repeat the various explanations

* Langebeck, Script. Dan. 2, p. 39. The Latin word Saxones comprehended tribes quite distinct from each other.

† It has all the appearance of having been a nickname, or term of contempt, as used in the Saxon Chronicles.

that have been given of the term. I shall merely say that it points out the possessions of the Sexna, the very territory which still bears the name in Essex, Middlesex, Sussex, and what was the original kingdom of Wessex. These Sexna (Latinized into Saxones) have been confounded with a tribe having the same Latin name on the Continent. The Englas were situated to the north of the Sexna. Beda, from a monk who followed St. Germanus, says that the Saxons were in the Hallelujah battle, A.D. 423. The contest was first for the national independence, and the government of their own chiefs. That obtained, and the Roman party having succumbed, the kings went to war with each other; and the free towns, which seem to have been gradually increasing in power during the 7th and 8th centuries,* and the country, lapsed into semi-barbarism.

During the whole period of Roman dominion in the island we have not the slightest allusion to our own counties, and the silence of history implies peace. Neither the taxes nor levies for foreign service can have been generally oppressive, and the rule of Roman government was to leave to a conquered country its own laws and religion. No doubt, instances of oppression and tyranny would occur, but they have left no trace behind; and as far as the body of the people was concerned, it seems pretty certain that they were infinitely better off during the first four centuries of our era, than for many centuries afterwards.

Amongst the desiderata in our county histories, I may mention the discovery and early state of the brine springs in Cheshire, the account of the Forest of Delamere, with its numerous castles, castle hills, and boroughs, the origin and decay of the curious remains in Furness, the relations and meaning of the word *Wych*. I believe that much light will be thrown upon all these points by a careful and systematic investigation, and all are subjects of great interest.

I have now brought to a close this long—and I fear from the imperfect way in which the subject has been treated—tedious paper. It is not likely, nor do I expect that many of the propositions will be assented to at once; but I do think that in two points you will all agree with me—1st, That our actual knowledge of the history and state of the island up to the 6th century is very small; and second, that there is an ample field for every member of the Historic Society to cultivate, and that he may contribute

* Saxon Chron. A. 918, &c.

whatever information, opportunity, study and observation, throw in his way with the certainty that no fact will be lost, but will in the end find its due place in the true history of our country.

ADDENDUM.

A curious and in some respects an important relic, came under my notice about three months since. It is a fragment of pottery, probably the handle of an amphora, of coarse Samian ware, found in Castle Field, Manchester, and after being in the possession of Barritt (the Manchester archæologist), and Capt. Hindley, is now in the valuable museum of Charles Bradbury, Esq., of the Crescent, Salford. It has a stamp on the convex surface in an ornamental border, and the words

COHRI
YRISIAVG
YOVIANVM
SPXXIIII

In the year 1796 a stone, 15 in. by 11, was found in Castle Field, with the very same inscription: it was described and figured in the Manchester Philosophical and Literary Transactions, vol. 5, p. 2, appendix p. 675, by Barritt, and an additional note was given by Dr. Holme. Mr. Bradbury has kindly presented a cast to the Historical Society.

II.—The Judgment Scene:

FROM A REPRESENTATION IN MR MAYER'S EGYPTIAN MUSEUM.

By the Rev. A. Hume, D.C.L., LL.D., F.S.A.

Any one who is familiar with mediæval illustrations, must have noticed one important respect in which they often differ from modern ones. A modern drawing or painting represents a continuous action at some particular instant of its occurrence; and the events which preceded and followed that particular moment are suggested more or less by the arrangement, situation, colouring, &c. But in the mediæval paintings much more than this was attempted. There was an effort on the part of the artist to give to the whole a dramatic character; to represent successive incidents like the

various acts or scenes of a play; and thus the work was supposed to be not merely *pictorial*, but also *historical*. There is a painting in the Royal Institution, for example, which gives on the one surface and in the one frame, nearly all the prominent facts connected with the betrayal, judgment, and crucifixion of our Lord, the painter evidently not supposing that the proprieties were at all violated, by giving, side by side, events which occurred at very different times. Similar paintings are found from time to time, as frescoes on the walls of ancient churches: they occur as the illuminations in monkish MSS.; and they are not unfrequent among the works of the old masters.

A copy of the Vulgate bible in my possession, of the date 1519, contains a series of woodcuts arranged on this plan. Each of them represents two scenes, either contemporaneous but locally distant, or else consecutive. Thus, one represents the transgression in Eden on its left side, and the expulsion on its right; another represents Abraham and Isaac going up to the mount, and without the slightest separation, the sacrifice of Isaac; a third represents two contemporaneous scenes within doors and without, Rebecca and Jacob deceiving Isaac, and Esau hunting for venison; a fourth shows at once the placing of Joseph in his coffin, the Pharaoh who knew him not swaying his cruel sceptre, and in the distance the destruction of the male children of the Hebrews. There are others in the same volume as curious as these; and in all of the instances the different events are represented side by side, or in the same horizontal line. Sometimes, however, the various scenes were represented vertically; the first commencing at the top and the various events succeeding each other in downward progress, like the facts in the well-known chart called the "Stream of History." Whenever the events were represented as occurring at different heights, as on the several floors and roof of a castle, this mode of illustration by vertical scenes, had a certain degree of appropriateness in it.

On the 11th of December, 1851, three 8vo. etchings were presented to this Society by the Rev. W. H. Massie of Chester, illustrative of three mural paintings that had been discovered at Gawsworth, on removing the inner plaster of the Church, in the course of making some repairs. At the meeting on the 8th of January, 1852, I read a short paper explanatory of one of them, and showing that while the grand object of it was to represent the GENERAL JUDGMENT, this was effected by three vertical compartments, which represented respectively, Heaven, Earth, and Hell.

THE LAST JUDGMENT:

FROM A LIMOGES ENAMEL, IN MR. MAYER'S EGYPTIAN MUSEUM, LIVERPOOL.

In the month of November, 1852, in the course of a visit to Mr. Mayer's Egyptian Museum, I discovered in one of the apartments not devoted to Egyptian objects, a remarkable corroboration of my remarks on the Gawsworth painting. This was a very elegant representation of the Judgment scene, executed in Limoges enamel, apparently on a basis of copper, and measuring within the frame, 11 inches by 7½.

I. The most prominent part of the picture is the figure of the Deity at the top, which represents heaven. This occupies more than half of the vertical height of the picture, nearly two thirds. He is seated, as usual, upon a rainbow, his feet resting upon the earth; the back ground is a beautiful deep blue sky, which is studded with golden stars and bordered by clouds. The Judge is represented as the second person of the Trinity; the chest, hands and arms, and feet, which are bare, exhibit the five wounds; the rest of his person is concealed in the copious folds of a brown mantle or robe, trimmed with gold and fastened at the throat. The head is surrounded by a glory in gold, and the right hand is elevated in the attitude of blessing, while the left is inverted expressive of repulsion. At his feet appear kneeling upon clouds, a male and a female figure. The former is St. John and the latter the Virgin, who were recommended to each other's good offices, in the character of mother and son. The head of St. John is surrounded with a nimbus, and the drapery of both is very peculiar. St. John's inner vestments are yellow; and the mantle or surcoat is of dark red material, covered with floral embroidery in gold. The Virgin wears a brown tunic with gold trimmings; over this, a blue mantle speckled with cruciform flowers in gold; and a white hood covering the head and shoulders, bearing a resemblance both to the head dress of the Knights Templar, and to the hoods of modern rustic maidens.

II. The portion which represents the Earth, occupies but a small space. The blue sea flows in front, and the land lies behind. The time is, the instant of the Resurrection. Just on the sea coast, and almost in the water, a strong man is bursting his way through the earth; a little farther back, another seems resting; and in the distance is, apparently, an infant.

III. The base of the picture represents the separation of those who are judged. On the left, an angel dressed in white, with golden hair and dark green wings, is conducting three of the justified, on the clouds, in the direction of the sun; while on the right, *i.e.*, on the left of the Judge, a demon is

flogging three others forward towards the mouth of the infernal regions. This is represented like the mouth of a huge bird ready to swallow them up; while both the demon, and his place of punishment, are represented as green.

It is only within the present week that I have seen the enlarged lithographic illustration published by the Rector of Gawsworth, the dimensions of which are, 26 inches by 11½. The general coincidence of it, in plan and execution, with that just described, are even more remarkable than I before supposed; for the etching, from which I wrote last session, represented several points less perfectly than the lithograph does. The following facts require notice.

1. The nimbus which surrounds the head of the Saviour, who is Judge, has cruciform points; the figures at the base of the rainbow, on his right and left respectively, are the Virgin and St. John; and, except the head, chest, arms, and feet, the body is covered in the ample robe, fastened at the throat, as in the other picture. Some scattered marks in the etching assume more shape here, and turn out to be the embroidery on the bannerets of the two trumpets sounded by the angels. The one over the head of the Virgin contains the pillar of scourging, the cross, the ladder, and the spear. That over the head of St. John contains the five wounds merely, with gouts of blood.

2. The middle compartment of the picture, representing Earth, exhibits the Resurrection. On the Judge's right, a saint with a cross, (not St. Peter and his key,) is leading off a large number, including a pope, a king, and queen, whom he seems to be conducting into the gates of Paradise. On the other side, Satan is claiming his own; and these seem merely in the act of rising from the earth, as if in illustration of St. Paul's remark, that "the dead in Christ shall rise first."

3. In the lowest compartment, the portion which indicates the mouth of the infernal region, is on the observer's right, as before; but part of it has been removed by the injury of the plaster on the wall. It has evidently been like the head of a gigantic snake, of which, only the upper jaw and fangs now remain. Into this, a demon appears in the act of driving several of the condemned; while other demons, by carrying, wheeling in a barrow, and leading, are conducting additional ones to the same place of torment. There are light, dark, and mulatto demons; and one on the observer's left, seems

to be forcing himself from the ground, near the base of an overspreading tree.

Strangely enough, since it was announced that I would read this paper, another illustration has been put into my hands; contained in the present number of the Journal of the British Archæological Association. The painting from which the illustration is taken, is found in St. John's Church, Winchester; and, like the others, is divided into three compartments, in this case, very formally.

(1.) The upper one represents the Judge on the throne; and near him, the pillar, the cross, the scourge, and the spear. The head is surrounded with a nimbus, with cruciform points, and the figure is covered by a green mantle. The Virgin is seated on his right hand; two angels exhibit the instruments of torture; two sound trumpets; and the twelve apostles "sit on twelve thrones," as if to judge the "twelve tribes of Isrrael."

(2.) In the middle compartment, nearly half of which is obliterated, Michael the Archangel, is engaged in weighing the spirits; and, while some, including a bishop, a king, and several monks, are found sufficient, and are led off by a Franciscan to happiness; others, of course, are found wanting. These are led off by the arch fiend, who is represented of gigantic proportions and horrible appearance; while the feet of the persons still preserved on the plaster, shew the direction in which they are following.

(3.) The lowest compartment represents, apparently, the first act, viz., the Resurrection; but, instead of exhibiting the individuals as rising from the earth, each is, apparently, flinging aside the lid of a gorgeous stone sarcophagus; kings still exhibiting their earthly crowns, bishops their mitres, and monks their peculiar tonsures.

In these three examples, coincident in subject, and executed at points considerably remote, one sees a uniformity of design and a regular principle of execution. Nor is it necessary to infer that they were executed at or near the same period, though they are all included in the general term "mediaeval." If the several dates of their execution extended over a period five times as great as it actually does, it is not probable that the subject would have been materially altered. We can here analyse the very ideas that occupied the mind of the Artist; we see the points in which there would be coincidence and variety if the subject were chosen in modern times; in short we find the same mixture of scripture and popular feeling

shown in the colours, which history, domestic and literary, would lead us to expect. There is a fashion in art, as there is in dress and manners; it is influenced by that species of innocent and floating superstition which has been called "folk-lore;" and the style of any particular period, or mode of illustration, was, we may fairly assume, that which was best calculated to impress at the time. Those who found their devotional feelings stirred by the performance of a rude miracle play, may well have been impressed by an illustration like one of these, addressed not to the understanding but the eye, and speaking its plain but impressive lesson from wall or window. If it occur to any one that there is too much of what is material on subjects which are only partially so, let him consider how much of the material is mixed up with the spiritual, even in our own enlightened days; when thousands of our countrymen, who rarely think of the subject at all, entertain ruder thoughts of the solemn scene which has been pictured, than any of the artists did.

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